

**THE RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCE OF LONDON'S RULING ELITE
1520 - 1603**

DAVID J. HICKMAN

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR PhD IN HISTORY, SEPTEMBER 1995

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON



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This thesis analyses the role played by the ruling élite of London in the City's religious development during the Reformation. The contribution of London's rulers is placed within the broader context of the English Reformation.

The central focus is the changing religious profile of the City élite from 1520-1603. Wills provide the core source material, in conjunction with data from parish records and the archives of the Corporation of London. Changes to the religious profile of the rulers are discussed in the context of the corporate identity of the élite, and in terms of the role of individual rulers within London's parishes and craft guilds. Stress is placed upon the importance of a relatively small number of well-placed individuals in influencing the course of religious change within the City.

A small group within the lower strata of the élite had accepted a broadly evangelical religious position by the early 1530s. As a small, but socially significant body, this group supported the implementation of the Edwardian Reformation. By the 1560s a significant Protestant presence at the upper levels of City and parish government secured London's acceptance of the forms of worship required by the Elizabethan Church of England.

The evangelical group within the élite aided the dissemination of evangelical religious ideas, while élite social roles ensured that some parishes experienced a 'Reformation from within' rather than simply one imposed from above. At the same time, the emergence of new patterns of public religious behaviour in the later sixteenth century permitted a wide range of religious positions to co-exist within a common complex of shared

civic values and attitudes, preventing serious divisions along religious lines. In this regard London's rulers are compared with ruling groups in other major European cities.

The continuing corporate unity of the ruling group thus owed less to religious conservatism or the outright victory of puritan ideals, than to participation in a Church whose outward forms of religious expression allowed for considerable latitude of religious belief.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>APC</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. J. R. Dasent (1890-1907)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
<i>CSP Dom.</i>	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, ed. R. Lemon <i>et al.</i> (1856-72).
<i>CSP Sp.</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Spanish</i> , ed. G. A. Bergenroth <i>et al.</i> , 13 vols. (1862-1964).
GL	Guildhall Library
GLRO	Greater London Record Office
<i>L&P</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII</i> , ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner and R. S. Brodie, 21 vols. (1862-1932).
PRO	Public Record Office
<i>Remembrancia</i>	<i>Analytical Index to the Series of Records known as the Remembrancia preserved among the Archives of the City of London. A.D. 1579-1664</i> (London, 1878).

INTRODUCTION: RELIGION AS A CULTURAL SYSTEM

The last three decades have seen the work of the revisionist school of historians assume a prominent place in the current historiography of the English Reformation. Developed in reaction to a traditional historical orthodoxy, which is traced back to the work of the martyrologist John Foxe, revisionism rejects 'Whiggishly' progressive interpretations of the Reformation that stress the inevitable victory of Protestantism over the corrupt degeneracy of the medieval church.¹ In particular, it is the relationship between the political and doctrinal manifestations of the Reformation that the revisionists have been at pains to reassess.

Geoffrey Dickens and Claire Cross, among others, are held up as representative of the traditional historical view, characterised by revisionists as the 'fast Reformation from below' school. Dickens stresses the early popularity of evangelical beliefs among the laity, particularly itinerant textile workers and scripture-reading gentry.² He emphasises the extent to which such beliefs spread ahead of official endorsement, a process which a poorly educated and inadequately trained parochial clergy could do little to prevent, and which had become irreversible by the time of Mary's accession. We might note, however, as Dickens himself points out, that his views on this subject are perhaps less extreme than they have been portrayed by some of his critics.³ At the same time the work of Geoffrey Elton and Peter Clark, concentrating on government and administration, is regarded by revisionists as the 'political' counterpart

¹ C. Haigh, 'The Recent Historiography of the English Reformation', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 19-33.

² C. f. D. Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order* (Cambridge, 1980).

³ A. G. Dickens, 'The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987), pp. 188-90; *idem*, *The English Reformation*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1989), pp. 325-34.

to Dickens, the 'fast reformation from above' school.⁴

In these closely interlinked approaches the Marian Catholic restoration is regarded as an attempt to turn back the clock by political means, a reaction against a prevailing religious trend, the future of which was ultimately secured by the accession of Elizabeth I.⁵ Revisionist objections to such interpretations stress the extent to which the pre-Reformation Church met the religious and judicial requirements of the laity, and deny the existence of large scale lay dissatisfaction with the established church. In this context, Ronald Hutton has stressed the dynamic nature of late medieval religion, in that through constant change it responded to the needs of a literate laity, while the requirements of lay religion equally influenced the theology of the clerical authorities.⁶ Thus, revisionists draw attention to the popular appeal of the pre-Reformation church at all levels of society, minimise the influence of religious dissenters such as the Lollards, and emphasise the active

⁴ M. C. Cross, *Church and People 1450-1660* (London, 1977); A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (Oxford, 1959); *idem*, 'Heresy and the Origins of English Protestantism', in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands*, 2 (London, 1964), pp. 47-66; *idem*, *The English Reformation*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1989); J. E. Oxley, *The Reformation in Essex to the Death of Mary* (Manchester, 1965); K. G. Powell, *The Marian Martyrs and Reformation in Bristol* (Bristol, 1972); G. Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972); *idem*, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London, 1977); P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent, 1500-1640* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977); J. F. Davis, *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England, 1520-1559* (London, 1983); Haigh 'Recent Historiography of the English Reformation'.

⁵ E. g. '[Mary's] government was haunted by the ghost of her father; intent upon the legal undoing of his legalism it forgot that in the last resort religious teaching mattered infinitely more than ecclesiastical legislation. The apparent religious and cultural sterility of these years has often been observed...to an overwhelming extent English Catholic opinion was still traditionalist rather than progressive or adventurous': Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 311, 315.

⁶ R. Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994); *idem*, 'The English Reformation and the Evidence of Folklore', *Past and Present* 148 (1995), pp. 89-116; M. Aston, 'Popular Religious Movements in the Middle Ages', in *idem*, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600* (London, 1993), pp. 1-26.

involvement of the higher Catholic clergy in maintaining standards of pastoral care at a level adequate to meet the demands of an increasingly literate laity.⁷ Lay anticlericalism, arising from disputes between London merchants and Cardinal Wolsey and the professional interest of the common lawyers in restricting the areas of legal competence claimed by the church courts, is thus socially localised and politicised by revisionists. From this viewpoint anticlericalism, initially regarded as politically-motivated manipulation of specific events by small special-interest groups, when it became widespread was a result, not a cause, of the Reformation; it took the evangelical clergy as its target as much as the representatives of the traditional religious order.⁸

Ultimately revisionists break the Reformation itself down into distinctive constituent elements, principally the political and the religious. Under Henry VIII the former consists of acts of state born of specific political circumstances, the latter of the deliberate imposition of Protestantism by small groups of clergy and laity upon a recalcitrant people; 'the Protestant Reformation of individual conversions by preachers and personal contacts, the Reformation which began in London, Cambridge and Oxford from about 1520, and was never completed...which most did not

⁷ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 1-39; S. Lander, 'Church Courts and the Reformation in the Diocese of Chichester', in Haigh (ed.), *English Reformation Revised*, pp. 34-55; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992); J. A. F. Thomson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society 1485-1529* (London, 1993); C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 25-102; M. Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968); *idem*, *The Henrician Reformation in the Diocese of Lincoln under John Longland, 1521-1547* (Cambridge, 1981); R. A. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation, 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979).

⁸ C. Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in *idem* (ed.), *English Reformation Revised*, pp. 56-74. *Contra*, see A. G. Dickens, 'The Shape of Anticlericalism and the English Reformation', in E. I. Kouri and T. Scott (eds.), *Politics and Society in Western Europe* (1987), pp. 379-410.

understand, which few wanted, and which no one knew had come to stay'.⁹ Indeed, the evangelicals are regarded as propagating a form of religion which was essentially an alien import. An oft-quoted phrase of J. J. Scarisbrick is representative; 'English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it when it came'.¹⁰ Christopher Haigh sees the Reformation, particularly in the Edwardian and Elizabethan periods, as the result of politics, imposed upon a reluctant majority who conformed because they failed to comprehend it; 'The overall revisionist strategy, by dissolving the Reformation into its constituent elements, makes acquiescence explicable. At any one time there was not much Reformation to accept, and England accepted its Reformation because it didn't quite see what it was doing. The piecemeal Reformation was a peaceful Reformation'.¹¹

Haigh thus sees the religion of the people as a distinctive phenomenon, separated from that of Church, state, and the social élite. Local studies focussing on the outlying areas of England have sought to demonstrate this dichotomy between government policy and lay acceptance of doctrinal change.¹² Robert Whiting, extrapolating from his study of the Reformation in Cornwall and Devon, suggests that 'in most regions of England, as in the South-West, the Reformation may...have been less a transition from Catholicism to Protestantism than a decline from religious

⁹ Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 12-21 (Quoting p. 14).

¹⁰ Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p. 1.

¹¹ Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, p. 17.

¹² *Contra*, see A. G. Dickens, 'Early Expansion of Protestantism in England', pp. 187-222; *idem*, *English Reformation*, pp. 316-334; D. MacCulloch, 'The Myth of the English Reformation', *Journal of British Studies* 30 (1991), pp. 1-19; *idem*, 'New Spotlights on the English Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), pp. 319-24.

commitment into conformism or indifference'.¹³ This represents a concise summation of the revisionist interpretation of the ultimate results of the Reformation, but the fullest development of these ideas is to be found in Christopher Haigh's work on the Elizabethan period.

Haigh's view of lay religion under Elizabeth therefore comprises several strands. He argues for an innate strength of Catholicism among the English laity, providing unbroken continuity from Marian Catholicism to the recusancy of the later 1570s onwards. Indeed, it is implied that a significant proportion of English parishioners were potentially recusant;

The "parish-church Catholicism" of the 1560s and later church-papistry should not be dismissed as mere "survivalism", since they provided an organic link between Church and sect and a reservoir of potential recusants...it was the Church of England, not that of Rome, which needed to be a missionary Church.¹⁴

Protestantism is seen in wholly doctrinal terms, and is effectively limited to the educated social élites of clergy, gentry and mercantile urban ruling groups;

The instruments of popish superstition had...been destroyed, but the attitudes which sustained them were not. *For the unthinking Christians at least*, the religion of works was not, and perhaps could not be, replaced by the religion of the Word...The political Reformations had succeeded in driving Catholic public worship from the churches; but the Protestant Reformation did not destroy essentially Catholic views of Christian life and eternal salvation. The political Reformations had succeeded in imposing more Protestant ways of worship; but the Protestant Reformation did not generate widespread attachment to Protestant doctrines of justification...if the parish church could no longer provide salvation through the sacraments of the Church of Rome, it would have to give salvation through those of the Church of

¹³ C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 268.

¹⁴ C. Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', in *idem*, *English Reformation Revised*, p. 208; *idem*, *English Reformations*, pp. 251-267.

England.¹⁵

In effect, the mass of the laity, the 'unthinking Christians' were incapable of understanding or assimilating Protestant doctrine, which left the Protestant Church ministering to a passive laity which was neither Catholic nor Protestant. These people are described by Haigh as 'parish anglicans', by which he means they adhered to the values of the parish community and the rituals of the Prayer Book.¹⁶ By implication they consciously manipulated the state religion in order to propagate a form of religion peculiar to themselves, and to ensure the continuity of essentially Catholic beliefs. In effect, their participation in the worship of the established Church, cited in the pre-Reformation context as suggestive of general satisfaction with that Church, is regarded in the Elizabethan context quite differently. By this account it becomes a political conformity, concealing a self-conscious attempt to preserve the religious forms of two to three decades before. The worshippers thus stood outside the very Church through which they expressed their piety, and, effectively, outside the time in which they lived.¹⁷ At the same time their religious experience is pared down to an absolute minimum;

While politicians were having their hesitant Reformations, while Protestants were preaching their evangelical reform, parish congregations went to church: they prayed again to their God, learned again how to be good, and went off home once more. That was how it was in 1530; that was how it was in 1590. Some Reformations.¹⁸

¹⁵ Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 288-89 (my italics).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-93.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-291; *idem*, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in *idem* (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 195-219.

¹⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 295.

Against this, the true Protestants, those whom the Reformation successfully touched, are described as 'Perkins-style Protestants', that is, those who understood, accepted and enacted in their daily lives the intense inner searching of the convinced predestinarian. In effect, Haigh divides the world into puritans and Catholics, implying that non-puritan parish congregations were, by definition, more Catholic than otherwise.¹⁹

The revisionist argument, then, regards Protestantism as a religion imposed by political means for essentially political ends. By this account religion after the Reformation remained the preserve of an educated minority, and is hence equated by revisionists with a division between 'popular' and 'élite' culture, defined essentially in terms of literacy and socio-economic groupings. Another small group, the committed Catholic recusants, found themselves in the position of a sect rejecting the established Church. Between these two poles lay the majority of the populace. Neither Catholic nor Protestant, these people were 'unthinking' conformists, inclined more to Catholicism than Protestantism, yet held to have carved out for themselves a form of religion which conformed to neither of the primary paradigms of sixteenth-century Christianity.

The implications of this viewpoint are far-reaching. In Christopher Haigh's analysis 'religious change was governed by law, and law was the outcome of politics. The Reformations were begun, defined, sustained, slowed, and revitalized by political events. So the core of a study of the English Reformations must be a political story.'²⁰ But this can only be so if one defines religion purely in terms of statute law and

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 291. C.f. A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London, 1993).

²⁰ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 21.

administrative institutions,²¹ and as we have seen above, Haigh's ultimate verdict upon the impact of the Reformation is that there was little essential change. There is a problem, then, in Haigh's definition of religion, which shifts from the political, to the doctrinal, and ultimately to the broad cultural level according to the time-period or the social group he is discussing. In this context, it is important to define the relationship between the everyday political activity of a society, its long-term cultural development, and the place of religious belief and doctrine within this relationship.

In the first place, any society's political, religious and cultural activity will take place within, and arise from, a specific cultural matrix, its world-view. This term refers to the basic cultural orientation of a society, the fundamental assumptions of its people about the nature of the world as expressed through their philosophy, rituals, religious and scientific beliefs.²² Since cultural change takes place on a different, far slower time scale than do political events, politics cannot dictate such change, because political action is itself an expression of longer-term cultural trends within the society.²³ Therefore, in speaking of religion as dictated by political action, Haigh is actually referring to the relatively short-lived actions and interpretations, the doctrine and

²¹ J. le Goff, 'Is Politics Still the Backbone of History?', *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 100 (1971), pp. 1-19.

²² R. Redfield, 'The Primitive World View', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 96 (1952), pp. 30-36; A. F. C. Wallace, *Culture and Personality* (New York, 1970), pp. 142-43.

²³ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. S. Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York, 1972), I, pp. 20-21. For Braudel on cultural affairs and la longue durée, see *idem*, *On History*, trans. S. Matthews (Chicago, 1980), pp. 29-32. C.f. L. Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century. The Religion of Rabelais*, trans B. Gottlieb (Cambridge MA., 1982). For a philosopher's perspective on Braudel and the Annales school, see P. Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. K. McLaughlin & D. Pellauer, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1983-1985), I, pp. 99-111, 209-17.

present ritual performances, through which a community expresses its long-term cultural identity. By defining religion so narrowly, he thereby divorces political action from the ideology that sustains and actuates it.²⁴

Yet, as Haigh implicitly recognizes, the term religion in fact denotes a much broader range of experience than is to be found in doctrinal and performative expressions of that experience. It is at this deeper level that we find the essential religious underpinnings of the early modern Western European world-view, and it is important to clarify how this level of religious experience operates if we are to understand at what level the changes of the Reformation period took place. In Clifford Geertz's formulation religion may be viewed as a cultural system, which, through its belief and practice makes the culturally-specific ethos of a particular group 'intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life ideally adapted to the actual state of affairs the world-view describes, while the world-view is rendered emotionally convincing by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs peculiarly well arranged to accommodate such a way of life'.²⁵ A religion is therefore defined as;

A system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.²⁶

²⁴ C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. C. Jacobson & B. Grundfest Schoepf (New York, 1963), p. 282; P. Munz, *The Shapes of Time: A New Look at the Philosophy of History* (Connecticut, 1977), p. 70 ff.

²⁵ C. Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System', in M. Banton (ed.), *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London, 1966), p. 3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Religion, then, comes to mean a complex of reality-interpreting ideas that underpins a world-view to render it meaningful and uniquely rational. In sixteenth-century England, as in Europe as a whole, this belief-system comprised, among other things, the defining tenets of Christianity. The belief in one God, the death and resurrection of Christ, and the importance of that event for the damnation or salvation of the Christian rendered the world-view, the picture people had 'of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order', uniquely rational.²⁷

Thus, despite the changes of the Reformation, the religious context had not greatly changed. Damnation or salvation remained the cardinal points of the belief system, the parish church still represented the focus of the ritual act of worship, and parishioners were not being asked to worship a different deity. To that extent the changes were superficial, in that the fundamental reality-interpreting systems of the culture were never under attack. In defining the majority of the Elizabethan laity as 'parish anglicans', Haigh is simply noting the fact that the mass of parishioners remained Christian. As he says, 'it seems that very few in England doubted the basic tenets of Christianity'. But there remains an implicit definition of religion as a matter of outward, conservative participation rather than inner, felt belief; 'There were many who thought little of God or Christ except on Sundays, holy days, and in emergencies, and perhaps not very much even then. But they could follow Christian ways as they had been trained, and join in services as natural and necessary parts of existence'.²⁸ Whether any individual did, or did not, attend a church service, or, indeed, declared that he cared nothing for God and the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3; 'Ethos, World-View and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols', *Antioch Review*, Winter (1957-58), pp. 421-37.

²⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 285.

Church, in fact makes little difference. If that individual existed within a society with a Christian world-view then his most fundamental perceptions of reality were based upon Christian principles.

In this context the differences between Protestantism and Catholicism cannot be located at the level of fundamental religious principles. At the same time, this does not mean that the Reformation did not happen, or that sixteenth century laymen were unthinking cyphers for cultural forces which left them without volition or choice. The fact that a society is capable of subjecting its own belief system to exhaustive intellectual analysis does not mean that it can reject the 'overarching frame of reference that is the foundation and legitimation of society and social behaviour' through which individuals engage with their world, and within which such beliefs have been formed.²⁹ For all their rejection of the Roman Church, reformers such as Martin Luther were incapable of conceiving of society as anything other than a universal Christian community. Independent thought does not reject the reality-interpreting concepts by which life is interpreted and communicably argued.³⁰ However, thinking and creative human beings will employ those conceptual categories in interpreting the everyday world. Marshall Sahlins has examined the ways in which world-views evolve in order to retain their explanatory force in a changing world:

Human social experience is the appropriation of specific percepts by general concepts: an ordering of men and the objects of their existence according to a scheme of cultural categories...[But] the use of conventional concepts in empirical contexts subjects the cultural meanings to practical

²⁹ H. S. Versnel, 'Destruction, *Devotio* and Despair in a Situation of Anomy: the Mourning for Germanicus in Triple Perspective', in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in Onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980) p. 595 ff.; Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, p. 282.

³⁰ R. Klein, *Love, Guilt and Reparation* (London, 1975), pp. 1-53.

revaluations. Brought to bear on a world which has its own reasons, a world-in-itself and potentially refractory, the traditional categories are transformed. For even as the world can easily escape the interpretative schemes of some given group of mankind, nothing guarantees either that the intelligent and intentional subjects, with their several interests and biographies, will use the existing categories in prescribed ways.³¹

Thus, every application of a cultural idea will be both a reproduction of that idea and a novel application of it to meet new circumstances. But the concept is renewed and strengthened by its continual application in providing a meaningful context for different circumstances.³² Thus by defining a culture as a complex of reality-interpreting ideas, we do not reduce the members of a society to puppets, predestined to think and behave in strictly circumscribed ways. Indeed, it is repeated argument about the application of cultural ideas that validates and reattaches fundamental cultural principles to an extrinsic world which they exist to interpret.³³ In this way, intense debate could take place between Catholic and Protestant theologians and laymen about important issues of Church liturgy and theology, but this did not undermine the essential cultural ideas informing those issues.³⁴ Religious belief as part of the cultural system

³¹ M. Sahlins, *Islands of History* (Chicago, 1985), p. 145; cf. M. Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power: Selected Papers in Anthropology* (London, 1989), pp. 7-15.

³² Sahlins, *op. cit.*, p. 151; cf. F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York, 1959), p. 74.

³³ Sahlins, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

³⁴ Thus Cartwright and Whitgift might argue about the application of the idea of what constituted the true Church on earth, but they shared the same fundamental concept of the universal Christian community, even if they could not agree about how to describe it. Hooker was arguing for a different application of the same concept in questioning whether Roman Catholics were necessarily heretics, while the Arminians Richard Montagu and Bishop Richard Neile were later to regard the Roman Church as a true Church, albeit riddled with superstition and error: P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988), pp. 28-53; R. Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, ed. G. Edelen, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1977), I pp 284-93; N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 110, 149, 153.

through which an everyday world can be interpreted, should not be confused with debate over the practical application of such belief, because to do so is to imply that a social group is able to reject an entire cultural frame of reference by which the world is given meaning.³⁵

In this sense the divergence between Catholic and Protestant did not represent the rejection of a *religion* by any group; rather, it represented a divergence in the emphases within a single religious world-view. Thus in Protestant regions greater emphasis was placed on certain currents within Christianity, such as the primacy of individual faith against the efficacy of works, while in Catholic regions the prevalent emphases were quite different. Such divergences are not arbitrary, or wholly random. Within a world-view an enormous range of opinions are possible, for instance in sixteenth century Europe it was possible to make statements ranging from 'I believe in God' to 'I do not believe in God', but it was impossible to ignore the concept of God because it formed a fundamental part of the reality-interpreting cultural matrix.³⁶ Individual conversion to Protestantism involved a conscious choice to emphasise certain aspects of Christianity over others, but the choice was limited by the parameters provided by the sixteenth century religious world-view. Hence the acceptance of Protestantism in certain areas and its complete failure to make headway in others depended upon a complex matrix of locally specific historical, political and cultural factors, founded upon and interacting with the shared Christian belief-system.

This, then, is our context for the religious position of social

³⁵ Versnel, 'Destruction, *Devotio* and Despair', pp. 595-605.

³⁶ C.f. L. Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century*. Febvre argues that for all the apparent atheism of Rabelais, his very perceptions of reality were so deeply imbued with the Christianity that shaped his world-view that he was still, in most respects, a Christian.

élites who adopted the Protestant viewpoint. The Elizabethan social élite did not represent an embattled religious minority maintaining a closed, self-referential religious culture unique to itself. Insofar as 'popular culture' is the expression of a cultural world-view, a social élite provides the spokesmen for it, and will reflect the popular culture in its own thinking. Paul Ricoeur makes this point in relation to philosophy;

We are too prone to look for the meaning of culture on an excessively rational or reflective level, for example by starting with a written literature or an elaborated form of thought...The values peculiar to a nation, and which constitute it as a nation must be looked for on a much lower level. When a philosopher works out an ethic, he gives himself to a work of a very reflective character; strictly speaking he does not make up an ethic, but he mirrors the one which has a spontaneous existence in the people. Here the values of which we are thinking reside in the concrete attitudes towards life, insofar as they form a system and are not called into question by influential and responsible people.³⁷

Haigh suggests that for all the preaching of Protestant ministers, and the Protestant tendencies of the English social élite, most parishioners continued to maintain a form of religion which, if not actually Catholic, certainly leaned towards potential recusancy and was based upon essentially Catholic beliefs.³⁸ Yet this formulation only works if we define religion as the intellectualised expression of an élite group, and accept that the population at large was self-consciously perpetuating a form of religious behaviour derived from cultural concepts as they had been applied to the everyday world in the past. In other words, that they somehow separated themselves from the world of their own time.

If, however, the religious practices of the Elizabethan laity derived

³⁷ P. Ricoeur, *History and Truth*, trans. C. A. Kelbley (Evanston, Illinois, 1965) pp. 278-79.

³⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 289.

from the same cultural base as that underpinning the élite groups, then it would be impossible for them to be effectively living in the past. Certainly their cultural identity did provide categories of thought for the interpretation of events in relation to an ideal past, that is, the perceived religious practices of their forefathers. But that ideal past was itself an idea, not a living reality in their present, and as such it was necessarily constructed within their present world-view, and had evolved as the world-view evolved.³⁹ This is what Sahlins means when he speaks of the traditional categories being transformed and revalidated when 'brought to bear on a world which has its own reasons'.⁴⁰ Elizabethan parishioners who expressed their religious beliefs through the religious symbols of the established Protestant Church were doing precisely that. They were adapting their beliefs to accord with the changing cultural context by the very act of expressing them. Hence the 'parish anglicans' occupied a place within a spectrum of possible beliefs that found external expression through a Protestant religious paradigm.

In this context it becomes hard to see how England's sixteenth-century social élites could have imposed a new form of religion *in toto* upon an unwilling people. Furthermore, in order for the élite to have espoused certain applications of their cultural belief-system, the possibility for those applications had to be already implicit within their world-view. Certainly a proportion of the English social élite did become involved in the political and philosophical dimension of the Reformation. In this sense they became special-interest groups in that they acted as

³⁹ I. Hodder, *The Present Past: An Introduction to Anthropology for Archaeologists*, (London, 1982), ch. 1; D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 214-17.

⁴⁰ Sahlins, *op. cit.*, p. 145; P. Ricoeur, *The Symbolism of Evil*, trans. E. Buchanan (Boston, 1969), pp. 161-2.

spokesmen for trends and shifts in balance which already existed within the society, but which only became visible when articulated by such a group.⁴¹ However, such shifts can only occur if they make sense within the terms of a society's notions of what is real. For instance, it became possible to abandon the doctrine of purgatory only if that possibility were already implicit. We know that this was the case from the attacks of Lollards upon such external manifestations of Catholic cult practices,⁴² but we cannot speak of social groups imposing such views upon society: individuals cannot step outside their cultural reality to manipulate it, but they can speak for trends that exist communicably within it.⁴³

Furthermore, if we limit our definition of a religion to theology, and recognize as Protestants only those who are capable of expressing and enacting that theology in their daily lives, we implicitly devalue the religious beliefs of those who did not belong to the educated minority. To say that any individual was not a Protestant because he or she did not understand the finer points of theology, means that in the pre-Reformation period most parishioners cannot have been Catholic, for their participation in the external ritual of Church worship does not guarantee a complete grasp of the theology behind such behaviour. Indeed, the intellectuals and preachers of the pre-Reformation Church frequently expressed the same doubts about the piety of their flocks as did the Protestant evangelists of the late sixteenth century. Orthodox Catholic theologians did not

⁴¹ C.f. P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), pp. 3-21; N. Zemon-Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 95-123, 152-88.

⁴² Indeed purgatory itself should not be regarded as part of the fundamental belief system of Christianity since its development was a relatively late phenomenon in Christian history: J. le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984).

⁴³ C.f. Versnel, *op. cit.*, L. Wittgenstein, *On Certainty*, ed. G. E. M. Anscombe and G. H. Wright, trans. D. Paul and G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford, 1979).

object to many of the 'magical' uses to which Catholic devotional objects were put, so long as this was done out of genuine Christian faith, although Colet, More and Erasmus were worried by the gap between 'superstitious' popular conceptions of Catholic symbolism and the doctrine that underlay it.⁴⁴ The late medieval Church itself laid stress upon the inefficacy of mechanical performance of ritual and good works if true faith was lacking.⁴⁵

Equally, if religion is seen as a cultural system, then it cannot be argued that the expressions of that system by an educated *élite* represent a distinctive form of religion. The majority of religions are governed by a social *élite*, whether a professional priesthood, or a lay authority with jurisdiction over the religious lives of its subjects. The most recent comprehensive account of pre-Reformation Catholicism effectively outlines the religious culture of the literate and the social *élite*, and demonstrates how that culture was shared with, and comprehended by, the illiterate and the non-*élite* members of society.⁴⁶ The revisionist argument tries to show that the Reformation involved the social *élite* in forcing a different religious system upon a populace which remained loyal to the pre-Reformation religious forms. However, to restrict the 'true' practice of a religion to such an *élite* is to confuse social character-types with religiosity and is to imply that the religious practices of the elite are qualitatively superior. Further, it suggests the qualitative superiority of certain types of analytical thought, as expressed in

⁴⁴ K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1971), p. 32; Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 28

⁴⁵ E Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven, 1992) pp. 313-27, 342-43, 365-66.

⁴⁶ Duffy, *Ibid*, pp. 53-87, 209-32.

philosophical, linguistic and denotational descriptions of the world, over the sympathetic immediacy of participation represented by performative speech acts and ritual action, such as participation in the Elizabethan communion. Thus the exemplificative world picture, which is a better vehicle for emotional expression and reaction to symbolic realities, is taken to be inferior to a form of analytical expression which builds its world picture from laws, institutions, science and rules.⁴⁷ In that sense the relegation of the mass of the laity to the status of unthinking conformists is profoundly élitist, since it restricts the practice of 'true' religion to the intellectual and the literate. It is perfectly possible to regard a majority of the society as Catholic or Protestant, but only small groups within the society will produce reflective, intellectual analyses of or commentaries upon the religion. Cultural trends are not the possession of individuals or small groups: the group is motivated by the wider society.

Education, then, does not cut an educated class off from its own culture's system of reality-interpreting ideas. It is clear that the most boisterous of popular customs in the early modern period contained within them certain rules of behaviour and fundamental cultural assumptions which were shared with the most sophisticated literary expressions of an educated class operating within the same culture.⁴⁸ At the same time, educational training is usually conservative, reliant upon the fundamental cultural

⁴⁷ N. Goodman, *Ways of Worldmaking* (Indianapolis, 1985), pp. 102-7.

⁴⁸ N. Zemon-Davis, 'Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion', in C. Trinkaus & H. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 307-36; *idem*, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1987), pp. 111-14; M. Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England 1570-1640* (Cambridge, 1987); *idem*, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in early modern England', *Past and Present* 105 (1984), pp. 79, 112-13. C.f. R. Hutton's comments on T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge, 1991), in 'The English Reformation and the Evidence of Folklore', pp. 90-91.

norms of the society in relation to which the more radical teachings can be made meaningful. Hence education tends towards the reaffirmation of the social status quo, and is not of itself an inducement to radical change.⁴⁹ The development of the printing press aided the wide dissemination of evangelical literature once those currents of thought had emerged, but it did not create them. In principle, one might say that a literate London merchant would be more likely to have personal access to evangelical writings than his contemporaries in the country, but one cannot say that he became a convert to Protestantism because he was literate. Rather, it made him more capable of absorbing certain trends within the society, and perhaps better able to define and act upon them.⁵⁰

The Reformation, therefore, represents not the splitting of a single cultural system into two distinctive portions labelled 'Protestant' and 'Catholic', but a divergence based upon the emphasis placed on certain strands which already existed within a single cultural system. Certainly many popular customs which had been accepted by the pre-Reformation Church were not tolerated by the Protestant Church, but similar customs were coming to be regarded as ungodly in Catholic states too.⁵¹ It is merely confusing the issue to identify such expressions of a wider world-view as symptomatic of a particular religious position, such as puritanism. Keith Thomas has suggested that the Reformation in fact aided the development of illicit magical practices because Protestants refused to allow the laity

⁴⁹ B. V. Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁵⁰ C.f. W. Ford, 'The Problem of Literacy in Early Modern England', *History* 78 (1993), pp. 22-37.

⁵¹ P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd. ed. (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 207-34.

access to such magical cures and charms through the Church.⁵² Indeed, in the long-term one of the more significant legacies of Protestantism was the identification of the word *religio* with a particular set of doctrines and religious practices. However, that process was far from complete by the end of the sixteenth century, and it was only with the Enlightenment that a conception of religion embracing its 'cognitive, intellectual, doctrinal and dogmatic aspects' became predominant, and this was closely linked with the connections between Protestant thought and the rise of Cartesianism and ultimately the Newtonian mechanistic universe.⁵³

Yet as has been suggested, one may question how far later sixteenth-century disapproval of popular customs was the result of Protestantism *per se*, and a symptom of a socially determined split between Protestant and non-Protestant. Rather, a wider shift in cultural ideas, to some extent fuelled by the implications of Protestant thought upon traditional concepts of time and the relationship of God to man and society, was absorbed into the culture of the Post-Reformation Churches, Protestant and Catholic. Implicit in Luther's rejection of the Pope as Antichrist was the conception that the Church of his time was not the same as the early church of the apostles, and the need to return to the original, simple forms of Christianity informed the ecclesiology and theology of every major Reforming movement. While such views had been aired before, it was not until the period of the Reformation that they gained wide enough acceptance to lead to profound cultural shifts. The Catholic reformation itself, in recognising the need for a new Church Council to define doctrine, and in paring down some of the older ritual forms, demonstrated a slightly

⁵² Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 58-89. For discussion of Thomas's categorisation of magic as opposed to religion see S. J. Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, 1990) pp. 18-24.

⁵³ Tambiah, *op. cit.*, pp. 4, 11-15; Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 767-774.

different response to the same cultural changes.⁵⁴

Hence, to regard such popular customs as maypole dancing, or the frequenting of taverns as anti-Protestant or intrinsically Catholic is to confuse manifestations of the wider cultural world-view with a narrow theological debate. In the later seventeenth century Londoners were still dancing round Maypoles on Mayday, but London crowds were also burning effigies of the Pope.⁵⁵ It is clear that many customary forms of celebration, including some of the former saints' days, in the Elizabethan period were increasingly absorbed into a distinctively Protestant interpretation of God's relationship to the English people, while these same 'unprotestantised' people were developing a pervasive fear of Catholics and Popery in general.⁵⁶

The present study, then, focusses upon the rulers of London, as a group representative of the religious culture as a whole, not as a body aloof from the religious currents within their society. The 'two-tier' system of religious analysis applied by the revisionists derives ultimately from an essay by David Hume of 1750, proposing a split between the rational few, who might attain the intellectual development necessary to apprehend the supreme being, and the irrational many.⁵⁷ Thus, the revisionist

⁵⁴ A. Kemp, *The Estrangement of the Past. A Study in the Origins of Modern Historical Consciousness* (New York, 1991), pp. 66-104.

⁵⁵ P. Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London', *London Journal* 3 (1977), pp. 143-162; O. W. Furley, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of the Late Seventeenth Century', *History* 44 (1959), pp. 16-23; S. Williams, 'The Pope-Burning Processions of 1679-81', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 21 (1958), pp. 104-18.

⁵⁶ D. Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989); R. Clifton, 'Fear of Popery', in C. Russell (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (London, 1973), pp. 144-67.

⁵⁷ D. Hume, 'The Natural History of Religion' VIII, in *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary* II (London, 1875), pp. 319, 334. For discussion of Hume's legacy for English historical treatments of religion generally, see P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, pp. 3-21. R. Scribner investigates some of the implications of the application of the 'two-tier' model by contemporary historians of the European Reformation: 'Interpreting

strategy of diverting attention from the cultural centre of sixteenth century English society onto its social and geographical fringes, isolates the subjects of their study from their broader cultural context, and serves more to obscure than to illuminate the nature of the cultural shifts that we term the Reformation. London's ruling élite, inhabitants of the political, social, economic and cultural centre of the realm, spoke for their culture; they neither stood outside it, nor imposed it upon unwilling, unthinking, conforming contemporaries. They acted within it, and as such offer an important insight into the cultural changes of the sixteenth century which replaced the religious symbols of Catholicism with those of Protestantism, and made them an integral part of the lay religious experience in England.

Religion in Early Modern Europe', *European Studies Review* 13 (1983), pp. 89-105.

CHAPTER ONE: THE RELIGION OF LONDON'S RULERS 1520-1603: PROBLEMS AND METHODOLOGIES

The Rulers in their Cultural Context

The only account of London's religious history throughout the sixteenth century remains that in the *Victoria County History* of 1909.¹ Susan Brigden has discussed the Reformation in London at length, and has explored a number of important issues regarding the reaction of the laity to the religious changes.² In *London and the Reformation* she links the City's religious development closely to national politics, but closes her account with the death of Mary, and does not discuss the Elizabethan City to any extent.³ Brigden's account gives due prominence to the religious experiences of the laity in general, but an implicit division of the Reformation into political and devotional aspects leaves open the problem of the role of the City's ruling class. Most other studies of London have focused upon the socio-economic structures of the City, and have seen religious developments from this standpoint.⁴ Much of this work focuses upon the aspirations and efforts of the rulers of London to secure urban stability in the pursuit of essentially economic and political ends, and religion becomes something of a side-issue, one of several elements in a

¹ *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of London I* (London, 1909).

² S. Brigden, 'Tithe Controversy in Reformation London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), pp. 294-96; *idem*, 'Youth and the Reformation', *Past and Present* 95 (1982), pp. 37-67; *idem*, 'Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth Century London', *Past and Present* 103 (1984), pp. 67-112.

³ S. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford, 1989).

⁴ F. F. Foster, *The Politics of Stability: A Portrait of the Rulers in Elizabethan London* (London, 1977); S. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge, 1989); I. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability. Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991).

network of social controls operated by the élite to ensure the stability of the City and their own political survival.⁵

A consequence of this approach may be seen in the role attributed to puritanism in the 'reformation of manners', in particular through the stricter punishment of moral offences from the 1570s onwards, and the campaign against certain popular customs.⁶ Ian Archer has suggested that the dominance of puritans among London's rulers by the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, partially explains this more austere moral climate.⁷ Yet it is clear that such shifts in attitudes characterised the élites of towns across contemporary Europe, and may be found in Spanish towns as much as in Northern German towns which had been strongly Calvinist for a generation.⁸ The identification of particular forms of religious behaviour with specific social groups, defined on economic criteria, derives ultimately from the model proposed by Max Weber. Weber suggested that certain forms of economic activity, in particular the accumulation and investment of capital in 'industrial' enterprise, might be regarded as more characteristic of people in Protestant rather than Catholic regions of Europe.⁹ Tawney developed the theme further, but it was Christopher Hill

⁵ Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-49.

⁶ K. Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London, 1982), pp. 168-215; P. Laslett, *The World We Have Lost Further Explored* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 162; D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1985) pp. 44-72; M. Spufford, 'Puritanism and Social Control?', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 41-57.

⁷ Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 91, 237-256.

⁸ M. Mullett, *The Counter-Reformation and the Catholic Reformation in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1984), pp. 30-32; A. J. Cruz and M. E. Perry (eds.), *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. ix-xxiii, 93-123; H. Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands, Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Michigan, 1991) pp. 46-51.

⁹ M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. T. Parsons (London, 1930).

who provided the definitive Marxist analysis of the influence of a puritan ideology of work and one's 'calling' upon the development of Western European capitalism.¹⁰

This model has been influential in discussions of London's rulers, since they represented precisely the great exporting merchants most likely to fit Hill's scenario. Robert Brenner has most recently adapted this scheme at length in his work on the political and religious divisions of London before and during the Civil War, using the criteria of wealth, company membership and geographical location of trading activity as the defining characteristics of differing classes.¹¹ In the terms of this model, which dissects cultural phenomena according to social class defined in terms of political and economic power, it is possible to argue that cultural phenomena such as religion, public ceremonial and entertainment constitute a means of social control by the upper levels of the socio-economic hierarchy:

There is, of course, a danger of falling prey to the prevailing rhetoric of community and assuming a cohesive society united in the pursuit of the same goals. Elites show a tendency to insist upon such a rhetoric precisely as a means of concealing real divisions in the society, and they might manipulate the ideal so as to demand conformity to the will of the more powerful sections of society.¹²

Such an interpretation poses serious questions for the relationship of an

¹⁰ R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926); C. Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution* (London, 1958); *idem*, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964).

¹¹ R. Brenner, 'The Civil War Politics of London's Merchant Community', *Past and Present* 58 (1973), pp. 53-107; *idem*, *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* (Cambridge, 1993).

¹² Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60. C.f. R. Ashton, 'Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *London Journal* 9 (1983), pp. 3-19.

élite group to the rest of society.¹³ Clifford Geertz has offered an anthropologist's critique of the model, which he terms the 'interest theory'.

The main defects of the interest theory are that its psychology is too anemic and its sociology too muscular. Lacking a developed analysis of motivation, it has been constantly forced to oscillate between a narrow and superficial utilitarianism that sees men as impelled by rational calculation of their consciously recognized personal advantage, and a broader, but no less superficial historicism that speaks with a studied vagueness of men's ideas as somehow 'reflecting', 'expressing', 'corresponding to', 'emerging from', or 'conditioned by' their social commitments.¹⁴

If, as Maurice Bloch argues, religion and politics are manifestations of a single cultural world-view, shared by the society as a whole, then it is difficult to regard cultural or religious phenomena as political tools for social control; as has been argued above, this would require élite groups to detach themselves from the very ideas which formed their most basic conceptions of reality.¹⁵ This is not to argue that London's ruling élite lacked any sense of group solidarity; but that solidarity, and the manner in which it was expressed through public ceremonial, represents rather more than manipulation of groups lower in the social order through religious and political propaganda, backed by naked economic and political power.

London's rulers defined their identity, and justified their political power, by a complex system of public ceremonial;

¹³ C.f. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 199-204.

¹⁴ C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), p. 202 & ff.

¹⁵ For a theoretical discussion of the relationship between politics and religion see M. Bloch, 'Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation: Is Religion an Extreme Form of Traditional Authority?', in *idem, Rituals, History and Power*, pp. 19-45.

At the political centre of any complexly organized society...there is both a governing élite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing. No matter how democratically the members of the élite are chosen (usually not very), or how deeply divided among themselves they may be (usually much more than outsiders imagine), they justify their existence and order their actions in terms of a collection of stories, ceremonies, insignia, formalities, and appurtenances that they have either inherited or, in more revolutionary situations, invented. It is these...that mark the centre as centre and give what goes on there its aura of being not merely important, but in some odd fashion connected with the way the world is built. The gravity of high politics and the solemnity of high worship spring from liker impulses than might first appear.¹⁶

Such expressions have to be comprehensible to the society at large, and hence must embody the same fundamental perceptions of reality, if the ceremonial is to make any sense. In London this ceremonial took the form of visual representations of stories from the City's mythical past, which might be understood on several levels, but which did not exclude any section of the audience from comprehending them in a manner meaningful to themselves.¹⁷ The Lord Mayor's procession acted as a representation of London's social order; the public ceremonial symbolised and reaffirmed that social order, its effectiveness arising from the fact that the same conception of society was shared by both participants and spectators.¹⁸

In this way, the exercise of power within the City, particularly with regard to religious matters, represented not so much the imposition of alien cultural forms from above, but the codification of existing currents within the culture of society at large. As Ian Archer has pointed out,

¹⁶ C. Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983) p. 124.

¹⁷ P. Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London', *London Journal* 3 (1977), pp. 143-62.

¹⁸ M. Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London' *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), pp. 15-27. C.f. P. R. Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics: Theatrical Power and Mass Culture in Early Modern England* (Baltimore, 1993) pp. 3-31.

London's government depended to a large extent upon the interaction of rulers and ruled based upon shared conceptions of social roles and responsibilities. Thus, the campaign of the governors of Bridewell against moral offences in the 1570s was directed as much against the offences of the social élite of London as it was against those of lower rank.¹⁹

Of course, London's economic pre-eminence within sixteenth century England is well-known, as is its power to attract migrants from all parts of England and Wales and from Ireland.²⁰ Its enormous population growth from 120,000 in 1550 to 200,000 in 1600, and 490,000 by 1700 accounted for half of England's entire urban population growth over the same period.²¹ Although enjoying considerable local autonomy, the privileges of the City were held through royal charter, and as such might be revoked; the potential for external pressure upon the rulers was thus considerable. At the same time, increasing interdependence between the protection of commercial monopolies and the contribution of merchant financiers to the royal revenues placed the Crown under certain obligations.²²

Yet London was also the symbolic centre of the realm, a role reinforced by habitual royal ceremonial processions through the City. The royal and civic ceremonial enacted in London's streets was a celebration

¹⁹ Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 14-17, 20-21, 49-57, 237-256.

²⁰ A. L. Beier and R. Finlay, 'The Significance of the Metropolis', in A. L. Beier and R. Finlay (eds.), *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), pp. 1-33; P. Clark and P. Slack, *English Towns in Transition* (London, 1976); p. 83; E. A. Wrigley, 'A Simple Model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750', in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Societies* (Cambridge, 1978); F. J. Fisher, 'The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', E. Carus-Wilson, (ed.), *Essays in Economic History* 2 (London, 1962); G. D. Ramsay, 'The Recruitment and Fortunes of Some London Freemen in the mid-Sixteenth Century', *Economic History Review* 2nd series, 31 (1978), pp. 526-40.

²¹ Beier & Finlay, *op. cit.*, p. 2; R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion', in Beier & Finlay, *London 1500-1700*, pp. 37-59; R. Finlay, *Population and Metropolis. The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge, 1981). However D. V. Harding has presented considerable criticism of these figures see below p 295

²² Archer, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27, 32-39.

and representation of English society, and of the place of the City elite within that society.²³ The prominence accorded the rulers of the City in such royal processions placed them at the heart of these representations of the English social order. Their symbolic role, then, as the representatives of the political institution of the Corporation of London, was enacted within a national context, expressing their position at the centre of the major currents in early modern English culture as a whole.²⁴ At the same time, their place in such processions, accessible and meaningful to every level of society, meant that their cultural role was expressed and actuated through the common cultural framework of their society. In this context, the political élite of the City may also be seen as an influential body of spokesmen, not only for the culture of their own socio-economic class, or for London alone, but for the entire realm.

The Membership of London's Ruling Elite

The City of London in the sixteenth century was governed by an oligarchic élite, elected from adult citizens of the City.²⁵ Twenty five aldermen (twenty six after 1550), comprised the upper chamber, the Court of Aldermen, invested with executive authority over the wards of the City.

²³ Backscheider, *Spectacular Politics*; Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, pp. 125-129.

²⁴ Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, p. 125. For contemporary description of Queen Elizabeth's coronation procession through London see *Tudor Tracts 1532-1588*, ed. A. F. Pollard (1903), pp. 367-95.

²⁵ The citizenship was gained through membership of one of the livery companies of London, either through serving a seven-year apprenticeship (servitude), by inheritance (patrimony), or by outright purchase, usually on the recommendation of a powerful patron (redemption). See P. E. Jones, *The Corporation of London: its Origin, Constitution, Powers and Duties* (London, 1950), pp. 220-21; *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved Among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (1899-1912), D, pp. i-xi.

One of the aldermen was elected annually to the office of Lord Mayor, the supreme executive officer of the City, answerable only to the Crown. The election of an alderman took place at the wardmote, where, theoretically every householder of a ward was entitled to vote. Nominations, however, were made by the Court of Aldermen which might reject an election should the intended candidate not be returned.²⁶ In effect, the aldermen exercised a close control over the entrants into their ranks. The mayoral elections were even more formulaic in nature. Although elected in common hall, or congregation, a purely elective body consisting of the liverymen of the London Companies, the mayoral office in practice passed in rotation among the aldermen according to seniority on the bench*.

The lower chamber, the Court of Common Council, consisted of a much larger number of citizens, elected at the annual wardmote in each ward of the City. With this body rested responsibility for legislation and approval of taxation, but it was subject to the veto of the aldermen, could only meet when convened by them, and was not considered in session without the presence of aldermen in the council chamber.²⁷ Lacking nearly all the wardmote records from before the mid-seventeenth century it is difficult to establish with certainty the exact size of the common council at any one time. Printed lists of London's aldermen have been available since A. B. Beaven produced his prosopographical study of the Court of Aldermen at the beginning of this century, and the fact that all aldermanic elections were recorded in the Corporation archives means that we have a virtually complete picture of the membership of the Court of Aldermen for the early

²⁶ Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 63-66.

²⁷ For discussions of the composition and functioning of London's administrative structures see V. Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: City Government and National Politics* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 45-68; Foster, *The Politics of Stability*, pp. 12-28; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 18-20.

* Frequently before this custom was not observed without interruption until 1596 A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of London*, 2 vols (London, 1903) II p. xxv

modern period.²⁸ The members of Common Council, however, are rather harder to identify. Although a significant minority of them ultimately were elected aldermen, there are no extant lists of commoners, nor do the the corporation records list the attendance of commoners at meetings of common council.²⁹

Frank Freeman Foster compiled a substantial sample of Elizabethan commoners in 1977, and Professor Mark Benbow has expanded upon this to provide as complete as possible a listing of Londoners involved in civic government from the middle of the sixteenth century.³⁰ Their criteria for identifying commoners have been applied in compiling sample lists of commoners for the Henrician period. Commoners may be identified primarily from their participation in ad hoc or permanent committees set up by the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council. Certain of the more important civic officers, such as the Chamberlain, the auditors of the Bridgehouse estates, and the Bridgemaster were necessarily members of common council, while those signing as sureties for the City's debts were either aldermen or wealthy commoners.³¹ By these means it is possible to suggest the approximate size of common council over the sixteenth century. John Stow listed a specified number of commoners returned for each ward. The figures vary from ward to ward, but in total amount to 200 or 202, since for

²⁸ A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1908-13). All dates of aldermanic service and tenure of the office of mayor have been taken from Beaven's listings.

²⁹ The only surviving record of common council elections comes from the Cornhill Wardmote book for 1576, preserved in the Vestry Minutes of St. Michael Cornhill; GL, MS. 4071/1.

³⁰ Foster, *The Politics of Stability*, pp. 164-72; R. M. Benbow, *Index of London Citizens: 1550-1603* (Private printing, 1994), copy held at Institute of Historical Research, London, & Centre for Metropolitan History, London.

³¹ Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 24, 182; Benbow, *Notes to the Index of London Citizens Involved in Government, 1550-1603*, 2 vols (Private Printing, 1994), I, pp. i-ix.

Cornhill ward Stow lists four or six commoners.³² An official list survives dated 1458-59, naming 190 commoners according to their wards. Another from 1460 provides a similar number, while Foster suggests that Stow's omission of the number of commoners for Billingsgate ward means that his total figure should be amended to 212.³³ It is clear, however, that the number of commoners, or at least those found regularly participating in London's municipal affairs, fluctuated dramatically. The primary development seems to involve a general growth in the number of active commoners from the 1520s onwards. The numbers active in City government by the late 1590s appear to have been considerably higher than the figure obtained by adding Stow's ward figures. In 1598, when Stow's *Survey of London* was first published, there were perhaps as many as 254 commoners.³⁴ Benbow estimates the highest possible numbers of known commoners in 1550 at 74, in 1558 at 199. The next peak comes in 1585, at 202, then in 1589 at 230, rising to the highest point for the period at 254 in 1598. The figures fluctuate considerably between these dates, although the general trend from the mid 1570s is upwards. It is possible that we are witnessing more of a growth in the proportion of members of the council actively engaged in City affairs than a sustained general increase in the overall number of commoners; there is evidence to suggest that in the 1540s a substantial number of commoners existed who only appear in the records in the event of the City requiring a particularly large number of

³² J. Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908), I, p. 200.

³³ Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 180-81.

³⁴ M. Benbow, 'Limning the London Councillors: the Index of Common Councilmen for 1550-1603', Unpublished seminar paper, Institute of Historical Research, 13 May 1993.

commissioners at one time.³⁵

Because of the large number of individuals known to have served as commoners over the sixteenth century it has been decided to take samples from three consecutive years in the middle of each decade for study. Thus a sample has been compiled from 1 January 1524 to 31 December 1526, and so on for each decade up to and including the 1590s. This method permits a selection of names in as random a fashion as possible, and leaves sufficient temporal gaps between each sample period to permit a significant turnover of personnel in order to demonstrate changes over time. Given that there is a continuity rate of perhaps 30% between each sample, any further extension of this gap would tend to obscure the fact that a significant minority of commoners did serve for very long periods.

The members of the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council are defined as the rulers of the City for the purposes of this study, although it must be remembered that lawyers, MPs, members of the gentry and, increasingly, the nobility, also resided in or near the area under the jurisdiction of the Corporation for lengthy periods of time.³⁶ We may take the liveryman to represent the social stratum from which the rulers were recruited, and Rappaport has estimated that there were perhaps 2,500 of these in late Elizabethan London, amounting to about 10% of householders in the City.³⁷

³⁵ CLRO, Rep. 10, fos. 216^v-217^r. On 19 July 1541 a commission was ordered to survey the lands and real estate belonging to the dissolved friaries in the City. The names of 196 commoners are recorded on the various subcommittees detailed to inspect the various sites. 46 of them were obscure enough to the corporation clerk for him to be unaware of their forenames. Comparing this with the figure of active commoners known for 1544-46, it is possible therefore that perhaps a quarter of commoners at this period were largely uninvolved in the practical business of governing the City, and hence do not habitually appear in the records.

³⁶ At the same time such persons tended to congregate in the West End, which was beginning to develop as a wealthy area late in Elizabeth's reign: L. Stone, 'The Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century', in B. C. Malament (ed.), *After the Reformation* (London, 1980), pp. 167-212.

³⁷ Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 49-53.

The major distinction within the *élite* is taken here to be that between alderman and commoner. Foster employed a more complex system of division, based upon the presumed political influence of the individual members of the *élite*.³⁸ For present purposes, since our concern is with the religious rather than the political history of the *élite*, it is the important ceremonial difference between alderman and commoner which has been regarded as more significant. Thus those men who resigned the office of alderman immediately after their election, for whatever reason,³⁹ are considered as commoners rather than aldermen. This distinction does not necessarily imply any wide social or economic cleavage; every alderman was elected from the ranks of the commoners, and business and family connections united many commoners and aldermen.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the position of the aldermen as the most exalted representatives of the Corporation was expressed through their primacy in public procession and the distinctive scarlet livery which it was their privilege to don on formal occasions.⁴¹ It is clear that the distinction was important: the aldermen themselves recorded the title in their wills, whereas no example has yet been located of a commoner using his position on common council as part of his title. They usually described themselves as citizens of London

³⁸ Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 12-15.

³⁹ R. M. Wunderli, 'Evasion of the Office of Alderman in London, 1523-1672', *London Journal* 15 (1990), pp. 3-18.

⁴⁰ Although a property qualification was imposed for aldermen, amounting to 2,000 marks in 1525, the commoners were also expected to own substantial estates. In the Elizabethan period the majority of the rulers were assessed in subsidy ratings in the higher bracket, £.50 and up; Foster, *Politics of Stability*, p. 97.

⁴¹ *Grey Friars Chronicle of London*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, 53, 1852) pp. 36, 37, 38, 43, 47, 50, 52, 54, 73, 81-82, 85, 91; C. Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, 1485-1559*, ed. W. D. Hamilton, 2 vols. (Camden Society, new series, 11 & 20, 1875-7) I, pp. 12, 13, 15, 18-19, 21, 32, 41, 59, 65-66 *et passim*; *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, 43, 1848) pp. 186, 193, 200, 210, 231 *et passim*.

and recorded their company affiliation. The unique status of the aldermen is further underlined in that the names of those actually present are recorded at the beginning of the record of each meeting of the Court of Aldermen, the Court of Common Council, and Common Hall, or Congregation.⁴²

The Will as a Source for Lay Religious Belief

Wills are perhaps the most significant, and controversial, of our sources for the religious attitudes and practices of the laity in the Reformation period. Much revisionist writing on the period has expressed deep scepticism about the utility of testamentary evidence, largely because of the methodological problems of employing such material. The earliest studies to employ systematic surveys of wills for the religious content pointed out a valuable source, while leaving serious problems of interpretation in their wake.⁴³

Geoffrey Dickens provided the first such modern study, and it is his work that has been subjected to the harshest criticism by revisionist historians. Dickens used the preambles of wills, the initial bequests of the testator's soul to God found in nearly all late medieval and early modern wills, as the basis for his survey.⁴⁴ In essence, Dickens took note of the changes in preamble wording over the first half of the

⁴² E. g. CLRO, Jor. 12, fos. 45^r, 49^r, 67^r, 71^r; 16, fos. 20^r, 26^r, 36^r, 37^r.

⁴³ The potential value of wills as evidence for the religious beliefs of the testator was recognized long before any systematic analysis was attempted: J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it...under King Henry VIII, King Edward and Queen Mary I*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1822), I (2), 368-374; *The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of London I* (1909), pp. 291, 299 *et passim*; Strype mentions that John Gough printed the will of Humphrey Monmouth in the sixteenth century: *op. cit.*, I (i), 492-3.

⁴⁴ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York* (Oxford, 1959).

sixteenth century, and arranged them in a tripartite classification based upon the religious implications he saw in the different forms of preamble. Thus, the oldest form, often referred to as 'Catholic', or 'traditional', comprised one category, and was held to represent firm Catholic devotion. Testators using this form bequeathed their souls to God, the virgin and the saints. A second classification was represented by preambles leaving the soul to God and Christ, and expressing faith in salvation through the merits of Christ alone. This type Dickens referred to as 'Protestant'. His third category was formed by lumping all those preambles together which simply left the soul to God, with little further elaboration, in a 'neutral' classification. The 'soul clauses' thus constructed were taken to reflect changes in religious belief according to the labelling of the different categories of preamble. In effect, a growing proportion of wills with the 'Protestant' preamble form illustrated the spread of evangelical religious conviction, while the fortunes of the 'traditional' form performed the same office for Catholic belief.⁴⁵

Dickens had already expressed dissatisfaction with the coverage of religious belief to be found in the records of ecclesiastical courts, and wills seemed to offer a means of supplementing this material by providing a wider context for the heresy cases he found in the records for York diocese. Nevertheless, he remained cautious in his claims for the application of testamentary evidence, insisting that his figures for the spread of lay Protestant belief should be regarded as provisional at best.⁴⁶ Yet Dickens' method of classification has proved highly influential. Peter Clark, analysing the movement of religious belief in

⁴⁵ A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York*, pp. 171-2, 215-18; *English Reformation*, pp. 214-15, 325-26.

⁴⁶ A. G. Dickens, *English Reformation*, loc. cit; Ibid., *The Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York*, 2 parts (York, 1957), II, pp. 21-22.

early modern Kent, regarded preambles as a 'ready, if rather crude, index of the changing nature of religious belief', and divided his sample of wills into three types of religious significance, 'conservative', 'reformist', 'committed Protestant'. A separate category was reserved for wills lacking preambles, a circumstance that Clark regarded as without religious import.⁴⁷ Clark's formulation, while allowing that 'it would be dangerous to pretend that will preambles alone provide conclusive proof of changing religious attitudes', by its very terminology assumes a simplistic correlation between preamble type and religious belief.

Clark understood the 'traditional' form of preamble in the same way as Dickens, but altered the remaining classifications. Instead of a 'neutral' form, he discerned a 'reformist' type, in which the testator 'omits all mention of intermediaries with the deity', implicitly suggesting the presence of some form of evangelical belief. His third type, the 'radical' preamble, identical with Dickens' 'Protestant' type, was held to demonstrate firm Protestant conviction.⁴⁸ As with Dickens' sample, Clark demonstrated the expansion of the 'radical' form of preamble at the expense of the 'traditional', which led him to an optimistic view of the proportion of Kent's population converted to evangelical doctrines by the end of Henry VIII's reign. Clark's definitions of his preamble categories implied that if 53% of his will sample for 1547 contained 'radical' preambles, then this reflected a similarly high degree of evangelical commitment in Kent at this time, although Clark admits that preambles alone cannot be taken as accurate guides to religious belief.

⁴⁷ P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977), pp. 58-9. A similar treatment, though for a more markedly Catholic region, may be found in D. M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553* (York, 1971).

⁴⁸ P. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

The assumed relationship between the will preamble and the religious beliefs of the testator was originally questioned by Margaret Spufford, who emphasised the role of the scribe in determining the wording of preambles.⁴⁹ A preamble might reflect more the beliefs of the scribe than the testator, which becomes particularly significant when it is recalled that, at least in the earlier sixteenth century, the most common writer and witness of wills was the local parish priest. Clark, indeed, attempted to deal with this problem by suggesting that by the late 1530s 'most Kentishmen with strongly held religious views, whether Catholic or Protestant, could probably find a sympathetic scribe easily enough'.⁵⁰ Moreover, Spufford was working with a relatively limited number of wills from small village communities, where the identification of scribes was feasible, but for larger communities, and particularly the enormous concentration of people in London, this represents an intractable difficulty.

M. L. Zell took the argument a stage further, suggesting that preambles probably provide a better guide to the religious beliefs of the more educated and literate sections of society. However, a far surer guide to the religion of the testator could be found in the religious bequests in the main body of the will, that is, those requiring the expenditure of portions of the testator's estate.⁵¹ Zell further argued that the section of society represented by probate records, including wills and inventories, was overwhelmingly biased in favour of the wealthier classes. Indeed

⁴⁹ M. Spufford, 'The Scribes of Villagers Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their Influence', *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971), pp. 28-43; *idem*, *Contrasting Communities. English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 320-334.

⁵⁰ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁵¹ M. L. Zell, 'The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977), pp. 246-249.

Dickens had based his samples of wills on the county gentry of Yorkshire and generally wealthier classes, precisely the groups who might be expected to display a greater degree of evangelical interest.⁵²

This position has received strong support from other scholars, who have tended to use preambles in conjunction with other religious bequests in approaching the problem of changing religious beliefs. G. J. Mayhew argued for a relatively rapid penetration of evangelical belief in East Sussex by the time of Edward VI. He adduced changes in preamble types and the diversion of funds previously employed in endowing prayers for the dead to charitable purposes as corroboration. The smaller proportion of wills leaving Catholic religious bequests under Mary, compared with the reign of Henry VIII, was held to represent real advances in the spread of evangelical religion. Likewise, the swift disappearance of such bequests in 1559 demonstrated substantial widespread support for the Elizabethan religious settlement. Yet in order to make his case Mayhew chose a sixfold division of the will preambles, including such categories as 'mixed Protestant/traditional'. The latter, in particular, lacks analytical force, and it is notable that Dickens' 'Protestant' category is still labelled 'reformist', implying an inherent evangelical meaning.⁵³

Revisionists have reacted strongly against the 'rapid Reformation from below', and necessarily have questioned the use of testamentary material in this context. J. J. Scarisbrick emphasised the extent to which

⁵² *Idem*, 'The Social Parameters of Probate Records in the Sixteenth Century', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 57 (1984), pp. 107-113; Dickens, *op. cit.*

⁵³ G. J. Mayhew, 'The Progress of the English Reformation in East Sussex 1530-1559: the Evidence from Wills', *Southern History* 5 (1983), pp. 38-67. See also, C. Cross, 'Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: a Tale of Two Cities', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, Studies in Church History 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 269-78; *idem*, 'The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520-1640: the Evidence from Wills', *Northern History* 18 (1982), pp. 230-38; R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People, Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 1989).

testamentary material supports the thesis of popular involvement in the devotional practices of the pre-Reformation Catholic church,⁵⁴ but the most recent comprehensive discussion of the pitfalls of using wills for evidence of religious belief has been provided by Eamon Duffy, who lays stress upon the external pressures that dictated the behaviour of testators in making their pious bequests.⁵⁵

Duffy points out the fact that the successive disappearance of monasteries, chantries, prayers for the dead and, finally, the mass, may be more responsible than popular disenchantment for the disappearance of these institutions from sixteenth century wills;

Given...the clear endorsement by the Crown of increasingly radical reforming opinion, it must have been plain to most Tudor property owners that attempts to secure traditional intercessory activities, at least by means of a will, an official document which had to be proved in the ecclesiastical courts, were likely to be counterproductive.⁵⁶

A further objection relates to will preambles. Duffy argues that, save in exceptional cases, the form of preamble termed 'Protestant' or 'radical' by Dickens and Clark in fact contains nothing to which a Catholic might take exception. The apparent decline in the 'traditional' form may well reflect pressures operating on Catholics reluctant to advertise proscribed beliefs in a time of official hostility, similar to the fears of evangelicals composing their wills during the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary.⁵⁷ Duffy concludes that 'the shifts in the preambles of these wills [of Newton Kyme, near Tadcaster, in the reign of Mary] reflect not a deep-seated change of heart by the testators, but rather shifts in the limits

⁵⁴ Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, pp. 2-12.

⁵⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 504-23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 504-5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 508-9.

of the possible and the approved...an accommodation to the theologically favoured idiom of a Protestant regime, adopted all the more readily because nothing in it contradicted Catholic belief'.⁵⁸ Thus, bequests for charitable purposes, for sermons and for repairs to one's parish church are interpreted as representing not Protestant piety, but the adoption of a different pattern of religious bequest underpinned by essentially Catholic motivations.

Christopher Haigh makes stronger claims for the survival of Catholic piety throughout the reign of Elizabeth; the 'parish anglicans' who defended the prayer book and the Church of England's ceremonies against the godly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are the 'spiritual leftovers' of Elizabethan England, no longer Catholic because neglected by the missionary priests.⁵⁹ In this regard, it is interesting that J. D. Alsop has described the activity of will-making as a cultural ritual. Pointing out the ready availability of precedence-books to professional scribes in the early modern period, containing patterns for will preambles, he nevertheless bases his argument on grounds similar to Haigh, suggesting that cultural rituals are effectively meaningless formulae;

Clearly in a large number of testaments the preamble was merely a formula, unrelated to the beliefs of the testators...If the sentiments expressed in the preamble are supported by other evidence, then it is this supporting information itself which should form the basis for an appraisal, rather than what may well be a ritualised or impersonal statement of questionable utility.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 522-23.

⁵⁹ C. Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in *idem* (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 218-19.

⁶⁰ J. D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40 (1989), pp. 23, 27.

However, the significance of ritual lies in its common meaning to a whole community.⁶¹ Certainly, both in England and abroad, the making of a will was regarded as a religious duty, probate jurisdiction falling under the purview of the ecclesiastical courts.⁶² As Robert Barker, Vintner, expressed it in 1539;

Forasmuche as death vnto all men is naturall and certeyn, and the houre of death vncerteyne, and forasmuche allso that the pryncipall study of euery true Chrystyan shoulde be to learne to dye well, ffor the whiche purpose yt is moste expedyent and necessary that euery man shoulde dyscharge the busynes of wordly things yn tyme of healthe to thentente yn tyme of death and fynall sycknes they maye holy gyue themselfe and apply them to gostly and spirituall matters, ffor the weale of eternall joye of the soule and not then to be occupied with worldly and temporall things; therefore ... I, Robert Barker ... doo bequeathe my soule to allmighty God my maker, sayyour and redeamour, to Our Lady Saynt Mary, and to all the holly company of heaven.⁶³

And we might compare this with the will of Thomas Fettiplace, Ironmonger, dated 22 August 1618;

...beyng at this present of sound and perfect memorye, I giue humble and hartie thanckes and praise vnto my lord God for the same and for all other his manyfould blessinges, graciouslye in his greate mercey vouchsafed vnto me, his vnworthie servaunte, and remembring and weighing that heauenlie warning deliuered from the lord of Heaven and Earthe, "Set thyne house in order for thou shalt dye and not lyve", and knowing and considering the vncertainctie of the contynewance and end of this life, do purpose by the holie spirite of God, which I humblie and hartilie pray may be, and faithfullie beleve wilbe alwayes present with me, to set my howse in order against the time wherein yt shall please my lord God to separate my soule

⁶¹ C. Geertz, 'Ethos, World View and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols', in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 126-141; J. Goody, 'Religion and Ritual: the Definition Problem', *British Journal of Sociology* 12 (1961), pp. 143-164; Geertz, 'Religion as a Cultural System', pp. 4-8; Bloch, 'Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation', in *Ritual, History and Power*, pp. 19-45.

⁶² R. Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People During the English Reformation 1520-1570* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 89-116.

⁶³ PRO, PROB. 11/30, fo. 151^v.

and my bodye.⁶⁴

Even when its role as a 'passport to heaven' through the donation of pious bequests lost its force in the eighteenth century, the obligation of orderly disposition of the testator's estate remained an overwhelming moral duty.⁶⁵ Indeed, it is apparent that the changes in outward expressions of devotion were not peculiar to England, or to Protestant countries alone. The narrowed focus of devotion that Duffy finds in Marian Catholicism seems increasingly reflected in French wills of the sixteenth century. Testators favoured burial in specific places in their church, namely in the choir, before the statue of the Virgin, or under the Crucifix. A place by the testator's pew also became customary, as it did in English wills under Elizabeth.⁶⁶ The request for simplicity of burial, sometimes taken as indicative of puritan inclinations in Elizabethan wills, occurs with regularity in French wills. In England it may appear to be more a phenomenon linked with the advent of Protestant belief, but requests for simplicity in burial were present in Catholic French wills at the same time.⁶⁷ Scholars of the European Reformation, where they have used wills to demonstrate differences between Protestant and Catholic devotion, tend towards a rather uncritical acceptance of preambles as the main indicator

⁶⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/132, fo. 130^r.

⁶⁵ P. Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death* (London, 1981), pp. 188-91, 196.

⁶⁶ Duffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 536-7, 563-4; Ariès, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81, 92; PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 33^v: will of Andrew Palmer, Vintner, dated 12 January 1569, '...my body to be buried in the parishe church of Saint Dunstone in the East of London in the North Chappell, over against my pewe there'; PRO, PROB. 11/57, fo. 291^v: will of William Bowley, Fishmonger, dated 24 February 1575, '...my bodie to be buried in the bodye of the parrishe church of St. Dunstan's [in-the-East] aforesaid as nere vnto my wieve's pew dore as convenientlie maie be'.

⁶⁷ P. Ariès, *op. cit.*, 322.



of belief.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, there are sufficient grounds to accept that many of the changes in preamble forms and characteristic patterns of religious bequests in English and continental wills of the sixteenth century are broadly comparable, and occur over a similar time frame. Changes in testamentary behaviour, therefore, seem to reflect more the broad cultural shifts of the sixteenth century such as a renewed emphasis on the value of preaching, and greater concentration on the passion of Christ.⁶⁹

With a recognizable system of religious expression in place by the Elizabethan period, differing in character from that of the early sixteenth century, it is difficult to sustain the notion that a substantial proportion of the English population deliberately adapted a form of ritual behaviour in order to preserve what could be salvaged from an earlier period. Equally it is clear that preambles alone are, in most cases, wholly inadequate to determine the religious position of any individual testator; at best they can provide only suggestive hints. Taking, for example, the preamble to the will of Humphrey Monmouth, alderman of London 1534-37 and a known evangelical, the formula is that designated 'Protestant' in the scheme suggested by Dickens: '...ffirst and princypally I comend my soule vnto allmighty Jesu my maker and redemer, in whome and by the merits of whose blessed passion is all my hole truste of clyer remyssion and forgevenes of my synnes'.⁷⁰ This will was drawn up on November 16 1537. Three years previously, on 27 August 1534, John Pierson, Scrivener, had made a very similar declaration; '...ffirst and principally

⁶⁸ B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross, Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991), 113-14.

⁶⁹ See R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 177-98.

⁷⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 98^r.

I bequeth my soule to almighty God my maker and redemer, in whose blissed passion is all my hoole trust and confidence of clere remission and forgyvenes of my synnes'.⁷¹ Yet in the same will, Pierson left ample evidence of his belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead and of good works; he endowed an annual obit in perpetuity in his parish church of St. Swithin's London Stone for his own soul and those of his wife, his father and mother, his benefactors and all christians. A chantry priest was established in the same church for a year, and one in St. Mary Somerset for three months to sing for the soul of John Denham, clerk, 'sometime dwelling there'. The poor of St. Gabriel Fenchurch Street were donated 33s. 4d. 'to pray specially for the soule of William Batnor', while a further annual donation of 13s. 4d. was left to the poor, for repairing highways and other charitable works 'moost beneficiall for the helthe of my soule and the soules aboue rehersed'.⁷² These are only the more notable bequests. In this case it seems that Pierson's will was written by the evangelical scrivener William Carkke, whose name is recorded as a witness, and to whom Pierson left joint responsibility for the estate of his son William. Carkke's favoured form of preamble posed no problem to the testator, not because it was a meaningless formula, but because there was nothing in it unacceptable to orthodox Catholicism.

Even so, Monmouth's choice of this form does not lack significance, not least because, notwithstanding Pierson's will, this type of preamble was still uncommon in the wills made by London's ruling group in the later 1530s. Monmouth's will is the earliest made by a serving alderman to employ the type, and it would appear that his evangelical religious

⁷¹ PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 167^r.

⁷² *Ibid.*, fos. 167^v-168^r.

identity⁷³ inclined him towards a form more acceptable than the much more usual invocation of God, the Virgin and the saints. Indeed, even the latter 'traditional' form, is rather less straightforward than it would appear. While it is the most likely of all the preamble types in the sixteenth century to represent the religious preferences of the testator, there are hints that this was not necessarily the case. John Purser, Vintner, Common Councillor 1525-26, was forced to undergo public penance in 1530 for helping to distribute William Tyndale's *The Practice of Prelates* in London. A leading member of the early evangelical movement in the City, Purser was known to Cromwell, and some at least of the evangelical 'brethren' were present to sign as witnesses to Purser's will on 23 December 1533. Nevertheless, Purser left his soul 'to allmyghti God, to oure ladye and to all saynts'.⁷⁴ Thus even this apparently most Catholic of formulae cannot be held conclusive evidence of a Catholic identity without further corroboration, or without the existence of special circumstances.

Again, Sir Martin Bowes, alderman 1536-66 made a will on 10 August 1565 that bequeathed his soul 'to the mercy of almighty God, the father, the son and the holy ghost, and to the holy and blessed company of heaven, verily trusting and believing by and through the merits of the death and passion of my saviour and redemer Jesus Christ and true belief in him, to have remission of my manifold sins committed in this wretched and sinful world against his majesty, unto whose great and infinite mercy I do wholly

⁷³ See below, ch. 2.

⁷⁴ S. Brigden, 'Thomas Cromwell and the "Brethren"', in C. Cross, D. Loades & J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and Government under the Tudors. Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 33-35; PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 49^r.

appeal and commit myself'.⁷⁵ The mention of the company of heaven was unexceptionable partly due to its adoption into a 'post-Reformation' context, that of the election of those predestined to be saved. Yet we know that Bowes was himself, to all intents and purposes, a Catholic, and apparently was using the formula in such a sense.⁷⁶ It is imperative, then, to take account of the background pool of available formulae when assessing the uniqueness of any preamble at any given time.

Of course a minority of preambles are more explicit. Lawrence Greene, Cutler, Common councillor 1563-79 made his will in August 1580:

ffirst and principallye I commende my soule vnto God the ffather my creator, and to Jhesus Christe his sonne my savior and redemer, in and ny whose bitter deathe and pretious bloudshed I moste assuredlye hope to haue full remyssion and forgevenesse of all my synnes, and after this transitorie lief to lyve everlastinglie amongst the electe, onlie by faithe in him and by no other meanes that canne be wroughte by manne or aungells.⁷⁷

Rather more unusual is the preamble to the will of John Jackson, Founder, common councillor 1561-73, dated 10 April 1579:

ffirst I thancke God moste hartely with harte and voyce, that it hath pleased him of his gracious goodnes to bestowe suche his earthlie benefites on mee, myserable synner; beseeching him of his gracious goodnes to give me grace to bestowe them to his glorye. But cheifly and before all I giue him moste hartie thanks for my redemption and salvation thorowe the onelye meritts of myne alone savior Jhesus Christe. And, to declare my faithe, I doe beleve in God the father, in God the sonne, and in God the holye ghoste, three distincte personnes and yett but one God; and I beleve that to be the true Church of God onely wherein his people are taughte to serve and honour him accordinge to his will. Whiche Church retayneth

⁷⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 19^r. C.f. will of Sir Ralph Warren, dated 30 June 1552, proved 4 August 1553: bequeaths soul to 'almighty and everliving God my maker and redeemer, and to our blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, and to all the holy company of heaven, beseeching God of his most infinite mercy to forgive me my sins and misdeeds, and it will please him to take my soul to his unspeakable mercy and grace', PRO, PROB. 11/36, fo. 113.

⁷⁶ See below, chs. 3-4.

⁷⁷ PRO, PROB. 11 63, fo. 61^r.

and useth twoe sacraments: the sacramente of baptisme wherein our God dothe regenerate vs to himselfe, and the sacramente of Christe's body and bloude, wherein by the inward operacion of his holye spirite wee are knytt to him and he to vs, accordinge to his promyse. In whiche faithe, throughe hope in Christe our life, salvacion and resurrection, I am encoraged willinglie to forsake this myserable worlde, and commende my soule into the handes of allmightie God, and my body to the earthe with a sure hope of ioyfull resurrectionn.⁷⁸

While it is difficult to define Jackson's religious beliefs more precisely than that they were of a Reformed nature, it is clear that we are dealing here with full acceptance of a familiar invocation respecting the established Church, similar to Duffy's late medieval parishioners' absorption of the wording of the liturgy and primers.⁷⁹

It is only in such circumstances, where the preamble is sufficiently explicit, or sufficiently unusual, that we can read some special significance into its wording. Not that contemporaries were wholly indifferent to the question. As we have seen, the will of Humphrey Monmouth was regarded as religiously charged, and was printed by John Gough. A more famous example, that of William Tracy, was circulated in manuscript.⁸⁰ Bishop Hooper of Gloucester's proscription of preamble formulae invoking the Virgin and saints suggests considerable sensitivity to the issue in 1551, although Hooper was one of the more extreme of the reformers, and there appear to have been few who followed his lead.⁸¹

The Marian period saw no overt attempts to regulate the wording of preamble formulae, but it is apparent that some testators remained nervous. Augustine Hynde, alderman of London 1546-54, made his will on 23 June 1554.

⁷⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/67, fo. 133^v.

⁷⁹ Duffy, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-72, 233-265 *et passim*.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 511.

⁸¹ W. H. Frere & W. M. Kennedy (eds.), *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, (1908-10), II, p. 306.

The copy registered by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury records the bequest of Hynde's soul to 'almighty God, and to his only begotten son my saviour and redeemer Jesus Crist'. The original, however, has an expanded form: '...ffirst and principally I give and bequeath my soul unto almighty God, and to his only begotten son my saviour and redeemer Jesus Crist, *by and through the merits of whose bitter passion I only hope to have salvation, remission and forgivenes of my sins*' [my italics]. The latter phrase is crossed through, presumably by Hynde himself or his scribe before the witnesses names were subscribed.⁸² Unfortunately this permits of little further comment but that some testators, at least, perceived the wording of the will preamble to have a certain significance.

Surer indicators of the religious identity of a testator must therefore be sought in the bequests for pious causes found in the main body of a will. Given that we are dealing with changes in outward expressions of piety within a ritualised context, indications of the precise nature of personal belief are rare. Rather, the impact of the Reformation is to be found in the spread of new forms of outward expression. Furthermore, even if the will is a private document, the religious provisions contained within them were usually to be enacted in public, a circumstance which places the will firmly in the context of public religious *symbolism*.⁸³ Most obvious is the disappearance of characteristic Catholic forms of bequest, and the emergence of a different pattern of bequests in the reign of Elizabeth. Sir William Roche, alderman 1530-49, made his will on 12 July 1549. Unable to provide obits, a chantry, or lights, because of their

⁸² PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 45; PRO, PROB. 10 28, August 1554.

⁸³ *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 68-71. The month's mind of Sir Henry Amcottes, 7 October 1554, was noted by the diarist, as was his foundation of a perpetual chantry in London and in Lincolnshire. 'Private' religious devotions had a high public profile. cf. Amcottes' will: PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 67.

abolition, the only religious bequests he made were gifts to the poor of his parish, St. Peter-the-Poor, and of the parish of Hornchurch, burial place of his wife Julian, in order that the recipients pray for his soul and all christian souls.⁸⁴

Bequests which presuppose the efficacy of prayers for the dead can meaningfully be described as Catholic, as can the provision of lights before specified images or the crucifix. Some ambiguity arises, however, with regard to funerary arrangements. The provision of torches, mourning gowns, clerks singing and the like represents more the expression of a shared public religious ceremonial than the outward sign of any specific interpretation of that context.⁸⁵ Thus the funeral of Alderman Sir William Locke, an evangelical, was held in 1550 at St. Thomas Acon with 40 poor men in mourning gowns, bearing white staffs, attended by numerous clerks and priests, with the street hung with black. There followed the traditional distribution of alms to the poor before the wake. A similar procedure was followed in 1556 at the burial of the Catholic Sir William Laxton.⁸⁶

In many ways requests for simplicity of burial, with no ringing of bells, limited expenses and few mourners represents a similar case. Relatively common under Elizabeth, such provisions seem to be less a signifier of puritan scruples, and more a ritual form found in later sixteenth and seventeenth century Christianity generally. In France the renunciation of funeral pomp became commonplace after the end of the seventeenth century, but had been present throughout the early modern

⁸⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 323.

⁸⁵ Ariès, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁸⁶ *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, J. G. ed) Nichols (Camden Society XLII, 1848), pp. 2-3, 111. cf. Locke's will: PRO, PROB. 11/33, fo. 163; Laxton's will: PRO, PROB. 11/38, fo. 79.

period.⁸⁷ The English wills from the present sample suggest a similar constant presence of such attitudes towards funeral ritual, especially in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Although not exclusive to Protestants,⁸⁸ demands for simplicity of funeral arrangements represent a common element of the post-Reformation pattern of testamentary behaviour, through which a variety of different preoccupations might find expression.

At the same period the provision of sermons, usually taken as a sign of a Protestant emphasis upon the Word preached, became a standard accompaniment to all funeral services of consequence. The earliest instances found in the sample of London's rulers of detailed provisions for funeral sermons occur in the wills of the evangelicals Robert Packington and Humphrey Monmouth. Yet Catholic testators were not slow to adopt the custom in the face of increasing official pressure on the permitted forms of religious expression.⁸⁹ While evangelicals might be more likely to request funeral sermons in the 1530s, by Edward VI's time, once prayers for the dead had been publicly discountenanced, the practice had become far more widespread, and remained a standard element in funerary practice for the rest of the sixteenth century, regardless of official religious alterations.

Yet the situation is rather different in the case of bequests for larger numbers, or series, of sermons. The presence of such bequests has often been taken as a sure sign of evangelical or Protestant commitment on

⁸⁷ Ariès, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-24.

⁸⁸ See the will of Alderman Sir Thomas Offley, founder of St. John's College Oxford, PRO, PROB. 11/64, fo. 298^r, dated 5 August 1580.

⁸⁹ *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 3, 46-47, 51, 58-9, 68, 91, *et passim*; PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 32^v (Robert Packington, 1535); PROB. 11/27, fo. 98^r (Humphrey Monmouth, 1537); PROB. 11/31, fo. 354^v (William Brothers, Draper, common councillor 1520-46). He made provision for obits, prayers for his soul &c., besides leaving 6s. 8d. for a funeral sermon in October 1545.

the part of the testator, an assumption challenged by revisionist historians; Catholic bequests for sermons cannot be ignored,⁹⁰ and it is important to remember that the houses of friars had originally been founded primarily to spread the Word of God through preaching. Nonetheless, it is evident that when Humphrey Monmouth requested the foremost evangelical preachers of his time to deliver thirty sermons, and took account of potential difficulties in having his request fulfilled, he was deliberately choosing an evangelical alternative to the traditional trental of masses required by many high-status Catholics at their deaths.⁹¹ Equally some testators seem to have adapted themselves to prevailing conditions in providing for sermons for a month after their decease, and thus approximating to the older practice of the requiem mass and obit at their month's mind. Yet those who provided for large numbers of sermons over longer periods, or who founded lectureships in divinity in Elizabeth's reign, seem to have been replacing the older forms of bequest centred on the doctrine of purgatory with a form of provision much more in keeping with an evangelical or Reformed view of the purpose of such bequests.

Even for the most committed Protestant at the end of the sixteenth century, there existed a far smaller range of religious bequests he might make than was available to the pious Catholic before the Reformation. It cost only a few pence to have a light burn before the image of a favourite saint, while the endowment of lectureships, or even a small number of sermons was an option only for the propertied testator. The mid-Tudor period saw a dramatic drop in pious provision of most kinds, and in many cases the broadest indications of religious identity are lacking. By the time the Protestant Church of England had become established, however, a

⁹⁰ See the will of Alderman Sir Martin Bowes, PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 19.

⁹¹ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 98^r.

new system of pious benefaction came with it. The will of Alderman Sir John Harte, dated January 1604, provides an example, albeit of uncommon clarity, of the kind of bequests that enable us to describe him not only as Protestant, but as a puritan in his outward behaviour.

The preamble reflects the influence of half a century of public preaching which had stressed the primacy of the Bible,⁹² while Harte used his possession of the advowson of his own parish, St. Swithin's London Stone, to prepare a haven for puritan preaching.⁹³ He left a total of £630 to the 'puritan seminary' Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. In his own parish, Harte endowed a perpetual two-hour sermon every Good Friday.⁹⁴ Other forms of bequest we might describe as unmistakably Protestant include benefactions to the stranger churches in London, whose Reformed discipline made them obvious models for London's puritan community, and gave the Crown ample reason to place them directly under the supervision of the Bishops of London.⁹⁵ The moral and religious duty to provide charitable benefaction remained constant throughout the early modern period: in April 1546 John Baxter, Haberdasher, bequeathed his goods to his 'frendes in the worlde, but specially to the poore, that they maye be my frendes, that hereby I maye be receyuid into the euerlastinge dwellings, tabernacles or mansions'.⁹⁶ Yet after the disappearance of overtly Catholic expressions

⁹² PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 1^r.

⁹³ R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense* 2 vols. (London, 1708), I, p. 543; PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 3^r. For full description of Harte's activities see below, ch. 5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

⁹⁵ See, for example, the will of Alderman Sir Wolstan Dixie, dated 1592, PRO, PROB. 11/83, fo. 1^v. He left £50 'to and amongst the poor strangers of the French and Dutch Churches, and such poor Italians and Spaniards and other such as shall be fugitives here for cause of religion'.

⁹⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 55^r.

of the utility of good works it is difficult to draw firm conclusions regarding the numerous bequests to the poor, the hospitals of London and the lazariahouses that occur in the overwhelming majority of wills. On occasion we find charitable benefaction undertaken in an explicitly Protestant context. One instance occurs in the will of David Smith, Embroiderer, common councillor 1566-86. In April 1587 he handed over six new tenements to the City of London for use as almshouses, to be occupied by widows

suche as shall love to serve God aboue all other things. Also they shalbe no swearers nor blasphemours of the name of God, nor no drunkards nor skouldes, nor disquieters of other people, but shalbe of good and godly conversacion to the better example of others. Also they shall most usually use the parrishe of St. Bennett's nere Powle's Wharfe and especially vppon the Sabbothe, except they goe to a sermon in some other place. Also I woulde haue them to be of good and sounde religion, lovers of the gospell of Jesus Christ.⁹⁷

If, then, we are to use wills and supporting evidence to build a picture of developments in lay religion over the period 1520-1603, it is important to recognize several crucial considerations. Firstly, the evidence available to us is evidence for outward expressions of piety, the symbols by which culturally-specific meanings were articulated, which may remain constant, or alter radically over several decades. They are not an infallible guide to the nature of the meanings articulated by them. Secondly, the existence of a fully formed, distinctive pattern of religious behaviour in the post-Reformation period does not permit the identification of a mass of 'apathetic', or uncommitted persons. Indeed, Christopher Haigh's account implies that the ritual symbolism of the Elizabethan Church offered parishioners a framework for devotion just as meaningful as that

⁹⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 129. See also PRO, PROB. 11/65, fos. 6-7^v; PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 71^r.

of the pre-Reformation period.⁹⁸ Yet in posing the Protestant or puritan preachers of the late Elizabethan period as the model of the ideal Protestant whose standards the majority of parishioners failed to meet, the revisionist argument fails to consider the fact that an uncomplaining conformity may have held as much significance, in terms of religious devotion, as a committed devotion to the finer points of Reformed doctrine.

Thus, a survey of religious practices over the period is practicable, if we take the emergence of a characteristic pattern of religious behaviour in the post-Reformation Church of England as in itself an indicator of a shift in the visible symbols by which religious belief was expressed. By understanding religion itself as a cultural system by which the mundane world was interpreted and made pragmatically meaningful, we may regard the evidence for the proportion of the population who were 'godly' or 'conformable', more in the light of indicators of broader cultural shifts. If the Elizabethan Church was capable of accommodating a population with a wide spectrum of religious beliefs within its patterns of religious behaviour then we must accept that in that sense the English Reformation was a success.

The Tables Summarising Testamentary Bequests

The lists of aldermen appended to subsequent chapters record dates of service as aldermen, followed by the year of service as mayor, if any. For the commoners, while dates of service have not been given those who served as aldermen have been indicated in bold. Those whose service on the *Court of Aldermen* was too brief to be of real significance have been

⁹⁸ Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 290-91.

indicated by bracketing the year of their election after their names. These men have been considered as commoners for the purposes of this study, and their names will not be found in the lists of aldermen. The wills have been summarised in terms of the date at which they were written, the types of preamble with which they begin, and the forms of religious bequests to be found in them.

The preambles have been divided into six basic types;

P1: The traditional form, leaving the soul to God, the Saints and the Virgin.

P2: A truncated form of the above, omitting mention of the Virgin.

P3: The testator leaves his soul to God alone.

P4: The form often referred to as the 'Reformed', or 'Protestant' type. The testator leaves his soul to God and Christ, trusting through the merits of Christ's death alone to be saved.

P5: The testator records his hope to be received among the elect of God.

P6: The testator stresses his hope of salvation through Christ, by emphasising that he trusts in no other way or means. A more emphatic form of **P4**, sometimes entailing specific explicit rejection of the mediation of the saints, or of the efficacy of man's good works for salvation.

The religious bequests are indicated by the following conventions;

A: Endowment of perpetual or temporary chantry.

B: Trental.

C: Prayers for the souls of the dead.

D: Provision of lights and images, offerings to saints, specifically Catholic religious ornamentation, such as pyxes, paxes, cruets, or veils

for the Easter sepulchre,

E: Bequests to religious houses.

F: Bequests to religious fraternities.

G: Provision of funeral sermon.

H: Provision of series of sermons.

I: Request for singing of psalms.

J: Furnishing of churches, not specifically Catholic, e.g. provision of pews, maintenance of organ music.

K: Contribution to maintenance of preachers and lecturers other than those required to preach for testator.

L: Endowment of Lectureship.

M: Charitable bequest of specifically Protestant nature, such as to stranger churches, or to poor who are not papists etc.

N: Anti-papist provisions.

O: Protestants bequests to universities, e.g. large sums to Emmanuel or Sidney Sussex Colleges.

Other, non-testamentary indications of religious activity, which are discussed in the text, are indicated in the lists by the symbol '+'.

As an indicator of the character of an individual's pious activity the abbreviations 'P' (evangelical/Protestant), 'PP' (puritan), or 'C' (Catholic), have been adopted, although it must be stressed that these do not represent dogmatic assertions of any individual's actual beliefs. They are intended as a guide to the distinctive pattern of religious behaviour into which that testator seems best to fit.

CHAPTER TWO: THE RULERS OF LONDON UNDER HENRY VIII, 1520-1547

In 1545 the evangelical polemicist Henry Brinklow pilloried the leading citizens of London for their incorrigible religious conservatism and their neglect of true charity;

Yea, although God hathe geuen oure most soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght, suche an hert to set [the Testament] forth with his most Gracyouse preuyledge, yet the greate parte of these inordinate riche styfnecked Cytezens wil not haue in their howses that lyuely worde of our soules, nor suffre their seruantes to haue it; neyther yet gladly reade it, or heare it redde; but abhorreth and dysdyaneth all those which wolde lyue accordynge to the gospell. And in steade thereof they sett vp and mayntayne idolatrye, and other innumerable vices and wickednesses of mans inuencyon, dayly committed in the Cytie of London; no reformation or redresse ones studied for, wherby to expulse vice, and encrease vertu; nor no pol'litique inuencion for the commen welth. No, no! their heades are so geuen to seke their owne particular welthes onely, that they passe not of no honest prouysyon for the poore, which thinge aboue all other infidelities shall be our dampnacion.¹

A few years later Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London from 1539 until his deprivation and imprisonment in the Marshalsea in 1549, wrote to the Mayor and Aldermen just before he was deprived of his bishopric, assuming their sympathy for his opposition to evangelical teachings. He bade them beware of 'what vile beasts and heretics have preached unto you', warning them 'that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such naughty preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that ye shall percieve them go about to sow'. Bonner feared the Aldermen might harm themselves 'in receiuing [John Hooper's] poisoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reason that ye are content to hear it,

¹ H. Brinklow, 'The Lamentacyon of a Christen agaynst the Cytie of London', ed. J. M. Cooper (Early English Text Society, extra series, 22, 1874), pp. 79-80.

and say nothing against it'.² Shortly after Bonner's imprisonment Aldermen Sir Martin Bowes and Richard Dobbes, with the Recorder of London, were despatched by the Mayor and their fellow aldermen to Archbishop Cranmer, to inform him of 'the lewde & slaunderous words, demeanor and reylinge of Huntynghton the preacher lately had and vsyd at sondry tymes in the pulpytt ageynst the Lorde Mayer and aldermen of London, desyrynge his Grace's ayde for the reformation therof'.³

Reformers and conservatives clearly shared the opinion that at the end of Henry VIII's reign, the ruling body of London was conservative in matters of religion, a view which was born out by the aldermen themselves. Brinklow, albeit a hostile witness, correctly identified the central focus of their piety:

O Lorde God, how blynde be these Cytizens, *which take so great care to provide for the deade*; which thinge is not commanded them, nor avayleth the deade, no more than the pissinge of a wrenne helpeth to cause the see to flowe at an extreme ebbe; but it is the worke of mans owne inuencion & ymagynacion, accordinge to the sayinge of the Prophete, rehersed in Math. xij.⁴

Brinklow's attack, polemical in the extreme, was nonetheless perceptive in its choice of target. The London élite in the Henrician period shared in all the aspects of religious devotion common to wealthy

² J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattley and G. Townsend, 8 vols. (1837-1841), V, p. 791. Hooper, indeed had publicly preached against the Real Presence in the mass, and together with William Latimer was the main cause of Bonner's discomfiture, having denounced the bishop to the council for defending the real presence. Indeed, immediately after Bonner's imprisonment, Hooper delivered a sermon at Paul's Cross with considerable criticism of the bishop: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 449-50.

³ CLRO, Rep. 12, fo. 80^r. John Huntingdon was arrested in November 1553 for making rhymes against the sacrament of the altar, and submitted when called before the Privy Council in December: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 412.

⁴ Brinklow, *Op. Cit.*, p. 81 (my italics).

laymen in the late medieval and early modern Church,⁵ but it was the concept of purgatory above all that shaped the patterns of their religious behaviour, and especially of their testamentary piety. Well into the 1540s their wills were dominated by pious bequests rooted in a belief in purgatory. The celebration of trentals of masses, the endowment of obits and salaries for chantry priests, and the provision of alms to the poor in fulfilment of the seven corporal works of mercy, were integral elements of a pattern of religious behaviour concerned above all to secure post mortem intercession by the living for the souls of the dead. Two examples from among the Henrician aldermen of the City will serve to illustrate the range of religious benefactions which might be employed by a testator before the Reformation.

Traditional Religion in the Wills of London's Rulers

Alderman Roger Basford, a lay brother of the Crossed Friars, made his will on 31 May 1518. He left his soul 'unto almighty God and Our Lady Saint Mary, with all the Holy Company of Heaven to pray for me'. He endowed two chantry priests to pray for his soul, and left bequests to the four orders of friars in London to pray for him in their churches. At his burial twenty 'poor ffolkes, my next neighbours' were to receive eightpence each to bear sixteen torches and four tapers. After the service the torches were to be distributed to his own parish church and to St. Martin's Ironmonger Lane, St. Dunstan's in the East, All Hallows Barking, St. Ewen, Islington church, the lazarus house at Highgate and the Trinity Chapel at Highgate.⁶ Money was provided for the repairs of Ashbourne church, the

⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 91-130, 169-83, 354-62.

⁶ C.f. PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 119^r (John Gunne, Merchant Taylor, 5 March 1528).

parish of Basford's birth, and a further sum went towards the building of the steeple of All Hallows church in Derby. Basford's brother James was exhorted to pray for his soul, and his wife Agnes was to dispose of the residue of the estate 'for the health of my soul and as God shall put into her mind'.⁷

Sir John Milborne made his will on 10 June 1535. He bequeathed his soul to God, the Virgin and all the holy company of saints. His body was to be buried in the centre of the middle aisle in the conventual church of the Crossed Friars.⁸ The Prior and brethren of the Friars were to say mass daily forever for his soul and those of his wife, mother, father, children, benefactors and all Christians. Milborne paid the traditional fee to the high altar of his parish church, St. Edmunds Lombard Street, in discharge of his soul and conscience, and to his previous parishes of residence, St. Bartholomew the Less and St. Benet Fink. Milborne set aside bequests for each of five orders of friars in London, to accompany his body to burial and subsequently to celebrate a trental of masses in each conventual church for his soul. He remembered the Carthusians of the London Charterhouse and Sheen, and requested the forty priests of the brotherhood of Papey, of whom he was a lay brother, to attend the burial and pray for his soul.

His burial service and requiem mass were to be attended by 153 poor men and women, each of whom were to receive a black gown to pray for his soul. Milborne requested a further thousand masses, consisting of the dirige and requiem mass, within three months of his death, to be performed

⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/20, fo. 6.

⁸ Milborne's tomb escaped the worst ravages of the dissolution, his body being removed to the church of St. Edmund's, Lombard Street: J. Stow, *The Survey of London*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, revised ed. (London, 1987), p. 134.

by unbeneficed priests.⁹ He bequeathed a set of vestments to St. Edmund's. Besides bequests to the poor in London's prisons, lazarehouses and hospitals (themselves religious houses), he left funds to provide for the distribution of penny loaves every Sunday for ten years to thirteen poor persons of Long Melford in Suffolk. Each of the beneficiaries were to attend church every Sunday and say a *Pater Noster*, *Credo* and *Ave Maria* for his soul and those of his family, linking the benefaction securely with the liturgical round of the parish.

Milborne left further bequests to the hospital of St. Thomas Acon, London, the Prior and convent of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and the Abbess and convent of the Minoreesses, on condition that they pray for his soul and be bound in writing to observe all obits, anniversaries and obsequies in their church that they were bound to perform for other testators. Finally he instructed his executors, his wife Joanne, the Prior of St. Mary Overy and his fellow draper Cuthbert Beecher, to leave 4d. a piece to the Master, Wardens and thirty liverymen of the Drapers' company, to attend his obit in the church of the Crossed Friars.¹⁰

The centrality of the cult of the dead in these testators' religious provision is immediately apparent, and Basford and Milborne exemplify its dominance in nearly every religious provision to be found in the wills of the City elite before Edward VI's Reformation. Devotion to the sacrament of the Altar, the central mystery of the Christian liturgy, often found expression in a mortuary context. The spiritual benefits of proximity to the Real Presence, the manifestation of the body and blood of Christ at the elevation of the host, were held to apply to the dead as well as to the

⁹ For the offices for the dead, see Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 210, 368-69.

¹⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 264. Probate granted 12 May 1536.

living,¹¹ and led to a preference among the social élite for intramural burial as near as possible to the high altar. This meant burial either in the choir or chancel of a church, or in the central aisle before the rood. Hence Sir Stephen Jenyns required burial in the choir of his church, as did Common Councilman Robert Brickett; in 1537 he requested burial in the middle aisle of the church of St. Sepulchre, before the high choir door where his wives lay entombed.¹² Lawrence Brown, Vintner, wanted his body buried in the middle aisle of St. Martin Vintry 'before the pyctour of the blyssed roode',¹³ while William Cauntwell, Fruiterer, left a wax taper to burn at high mass times on the high altar 'in the honour and worship of the blessed Sacrament of the Alter', in May 1540.¹⁴

The presence of the saints as intercessors for souls in purgatory permeated the wills drawn up before the royal injunctions of 1536 and 1538 first signalled official disapproval of many aspects of the cult of the saints.¹⁵ Thomas Cremour left 100 marks to the Drapers' Company to employ a priest 'of good and honest conuersacion' to sing a dirige for ten years at the altar of St. Nicholas in the Guildhall Chapel 'for my soule and all Christen soules'.¹⁶ A year later, in 1527, Ellis Draper, Haberdasher,

¹¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 95-102, 189-90. This practice survived the Reformation, its context and meaning transformed by the Reformation. In 1593 Thomas Colsell requested burial in the high chancel of Chigwell parish church 'betweene the communion table and the wall of the southe side of the same chauncell', PRO, PROB. 11/85, fo. 172^v.

¹² PRO, PROB. 11/26, fo. 37^v; see also PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 104^r (Edward Altham, Clothworker, 2 July 1548).

¹³ PRO, PROB. 11/24, fo. 22^v. See also PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 182^v: Walter Vaughan, Vintner, requests burial 'before the roode in the myddell of the churche [St. Sepulchre]', dated 14 September 1534.

¹⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/28, fo. 46^v. See also PRO, PROB. 11/28, fo. 29^v (Oliver Claymond, Clothworker, 28 February 1540); 24, fo. 81^v (John Taverner, Stationer, 27 November 1529).

¹⁵ Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, II, pp. 5-6, 37-39.

¹⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 85^v.

arranged for the bequest of a silver gilt cup to his company 'with saint Kateryn's whele in the bottome', while Thomas Lee, Merchant Taylor, bequeathed his soul 'to almighty God my creatour and savyour, and to his blissed mother our lady saint Mary virgyn, to saint John Baptist my patron, and to all the celestiall comapany of hevyn'.¹⁷ Similarly, it was not uncommon for testators to express their devotion to particular saints, or to Christ himself, by arranging for burial under, or near to, their images and their altars. John Garrard, Draper, desired burial 'before the image of our ladie where my wife lieth' in St. Dunstan's in the East.¹⁸ In 1527 John Thompson, Waxchandler, requested burial in St. Michael Queenhithe before the altar of Jesus.¹⁹ Such provisions disappeared with the images and altars, and were not revived to any significant degree in the Marian period. The role of the priest as the channel for God's grace at these altars was important for the efficacy of post-mortem provision: Edmund Trendall, Draper, described his parish priest as 'Godd's vicar for mysse offering'.²⁰ However strong the attacks of the pamphleteer Simon Fish upon a corrupt, licentious, avaricious clerical class,²¹ a substantial proportion of testators in the first half of the fifteenth century turned

¹⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/24, fo. 175^v; 22, fo. 174^r. See also PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 190^r (Edmund Trendall, Draper, 12 September 1525); 24, fo. 81^v (John Taverner, Stationer, 27 November 1529).

¹⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 214^r. Will dated 25 June, 1534. For similar practices e.g. PRO, PROB. 11/23, fos. 119^r (John Gunne, Merchant Taylor, 5 March 1528), 33^v (Thomas Hynde, Mercer, 23 March 1529); 27, fos. 130^v (John Hone, Tallowchandler, 18 March 1535), 201^r (Thomas Spencer, Vintner, 18 July, 1538), 270A^v (Edmund Shaa, Haberdasher, 18 November, 1539); 29, fo. 159^r (Richard Reynolds, Mercer, 30 September, 1541).

¹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 241^v; 31, fo. 307^r, dated 6 November 1546: Thomas Broke, Merchant Taylor, requested burial by the altar of St. Anne, in the parish church of St. Dunstan in the West.

²⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 190^{r-v}, dated 12 September, 1525.

²¹ Simon Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, ed. F. J. Furnell (Early English Text Society, Extra Series 13, London, 1905), pp. 1-14.

to their parish priests as their 'ghostly fathers' to write and witness their testaments, while a number of the more prominent aldermen and common councillors maintained connections with some of the highest in the clerical hierarchy.²²

The concentration of lay religious benefaction upon mortuary ritual, indeed, gave the regular clergy an essential role in the enactment of such bequests, and had given the orders of Friars in London the status of specialists in death and its associated ritual, although some testators enlisted their services in their older role as preachers.²³ The popularity of the religious orders, and the close association of the celebration of trentals with them, is evident from the testamentary material. Nearly 58% of the wills made by the City rulers before the dissolution of London's religious houses in November 1538 contain bequests to them, although there seem to have been none after 1537, 42% of these bequests being made by aldermen.²⁴ The overwhelming majority of the bequests were directed towards the more rigorous orders, especially the houses of friars and the Carthusians at the London Charterhouse. More occasionally the Carthusians at Sheen or Mount Grace, the Observants of

²² John Gunne, Merchant Taylor, left a gold signet ring, five yards of broadcloth and a pair of silver balances to Archbishop Warham of Canterbury to secure his patronage for his wife: PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 119^v; Alderman Sir Richard Gresham's gold ring of remembrance to Archbishop Holgate of York, the President of the King's Council in the North: PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 233.

²³ James Wilford, alderman 1500-1511, endowed an annual sermon by a brother of the Crossed Friars: PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 102.

²⁴ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 200^r (Thomas Allen, Skinner, 1 April 1523); 22, fos. 203^r (John a Parke, Mercer, 5 April 1525), 87^r (Richard Hanchet, Skinner, 4 September 1527); 23, fos. 119^v (John Gunne, Merchant Taylor, 5 March 1528); 29, fo. 64^r (Robert White, Draper, 16 June, 1529); 24, fo. 81^v (John Taverner, Stationer, 27 November, 1529); 23, fo. 205^r (Hugh Acton, Merchant Taylor, 7 June 1530); 24, fos. 41^r (Thomas Wall, Salter, 3 March 1531), fo. 124^v (John Sandell, Vintner, 14 July 1532); 25, fo. 19^r (John Pyke, Goldsmith, 2 April 1533); 27, fo. 131^r (John Hone, Tallowchandler, 18 March 1535); 26, fo. 38^v (Robert Brickett, Brewer, 27 January 1536); 25, fo. 312^r (William Brockett, Goldsmith, 31 October 1536); 27, fos. 83^r (John Richards, Draper, 30 August 1537), 106^r (John Appleyard, Mercer, 16 October 1537).

Greenwich and Richmond and the Bridgetines at Syon were remembered.²⁵ The services requested of the friars were most commonly those of attending the corpse to burial and afterwards performing a requiem mass or trental of masses in their conventual churches on behalf of the dead and his family. A number of the wealthier members of the social élite, such as Sir Stephen Jenyns,²⁶ elected for burial in one of the Friars' churches, and this was a privilege that might be exercised by the spouses of testators already buried within conventual churches.²⁷ Devotion to the religious houses similarly found expression in corporate decisions; on 25 September 1521 Common Council received the petition of the Crossed Friars requesting help in the maintenance and edifying of their new church. The court granted the sum of £1000, to be raised from the City companies, while numerous testators made individual benefactions to help the building work.²⁸ Even so, it is typical of the City's corporate reaction to the Crown's religious policies, as opposed to that of the rulers as individuals, that once the closure of the London Charterhouse seemed certain, attempts to intercede with the King on its behalf were abandoned.²⁹

If the friars were regarded as the appropriate experts for the more spectacular aspects of mortuary provision, the role of the parish held an equal importance in the religious life and death of the rulers.³⁰

²⁵ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/21, fos. 17 (Alderman John Rest, 5 Febraury 1523; 97 (Alderman Thomas Mirfyn, 15 October 1523); 22, fo. 159 (Alderman Sir James Yarford, 14 June, 1527); 24, fo. 53 (Alderman Sir John Rudstone, 16 August 1531).

²⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 103.

²⁷ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 17 (Alderman John Rest).

²⁸ CLRO, Jor. 12, fos. 75-76^r; PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 85^v: will of Thomas Cremour, Draper, 15 September 1526.

²⁹ CLRO, Rep. 9, fo. 255^v.

³⁰ Brigden, 'Religion and Social Obligation in Early Sixteenth Century London', pp. 67-112.

Trentals were primarily associated with the religious orders, but testators might also ordain them in their own parish churches.³¹ The requiem masses, month's minds, obits and chantries endowed by the rulers were celebrated usually in the parish in which they had lived and died. There might be duplication, as when a wealthier testator provided for an obit in the last parish in which he lived and that in which he had been born,³² but the overwhelming impression is one of a close personal involvement on the part of the rulers with the religious life of their local community. While their companies might frequently be used as chief mediators for their religious and charitable benefactions, it was within the parish community that most of these benefactions were enacted.³³

The provision of masses for the soul of the testator, in the form of obits and temporary chantries, represents the most common form of institutionalised religious bequest in the wills dating from before the abolition of such practices in December 1547. The Edwardian Chantries Act of December 1547 swept away the institutional structures supporting the cult of the dead, but 52.5% of the wills made by the rulers before that date provided for an annual obit, or for a chantry priest to sing for their

³¹ e.g. PRO, PROB. 11/28, fo. 181^r (Thomas Pykas, Skinner, of St. Anthony, Budge Row, 16 March 1537). Alderman Sir Thomas Baldry, of St. Dionis Backchurch, ordained prayers for his soul in the churches of the five London friaries and in that of the Observants at Greenwich, but arranged for a daily requiem mass for a month in his parish, followed by thirteen trentals of masses and a chantry priest to sing for him for ten years: PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 116, 10 July 1534.

³² William Brocket, Goldsmith, bequeathed twenty shillings for a dirige and requiem mass in the parish church of Alenham, where he was born, and five shillings annually for twenty years for an obit in his parish of residence, St. Peter Westcheap: PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 312^v.

³³ Most of the obits paid for by the Merchant Taylors in the last two years of Henry VIII's reign were performed in the parishes where their beneficiaries were buried: GL, MF 298/4, fos. 15^r-25^v.

souls, usually for a term of seven years.³⁴ As late as February 1547 Alderman Sir John Cotes endowed a perpetual annual obit in his parish church of St Stephen Walbrook, in terms typical of many such bequests. Placebo and dirige were to be sung overnight, followed by a requiem mass on the following day for the souls of Sir John, his wives Lucy and Elizabeth, and all Christian souls. Two wax tapers weighing 1 lb. were to stand on his newly built tomb during the obit, and were then to be given to the officiating priest. The traditional scale of wages was prescribed for the clergy of the parish; 6d. to every other priest serving in the church, 6d. to the parish clerk, 4d. to the sexton, and 12d. for ringing the church bells. All this was paid for with the proceeds from several tenements bequeathed to the Salters' Company, whose liverymen were expected to attend the dirige and mass every year.³⁵

Religious fraternities, important foci of parochial lay devotion in London, as in the rest of the realm,³⁶ likewise seem to have attracted the loyalty of many of the rulers up to their final dissolution in 1547, although bequests to fraternities decline in number from the end of 1538. Nearly 29% of the rulers' wills dating from before the Chantries Act of 1547 contain bequests to fraternities,³⁷ some 70% of these bequests being

³⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/30, fo. 29^v (John Jerrard, Merchant Taylor, 18 June 1544), obit in perpetuity in Agmondsham, Bucks. where he was living when he died. PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 174^r (Thomas Lee, Merchant Taylor, 24 August 1527), seven year chantry in St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street.

³⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 232.

³⁶ Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, pp. 19-39; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 36-38; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 141-154.

³⁷ Dr. Brigden, taking a general sample of London testators in the records of the Commissary Court of London found a total of nearly 25% of testators leaving bequests to fraternities for the period 1522-39, and 9% for the period 1539-1547: *London and the Reformation*, pp. 37, 389. Among the rulers of the City, the totals for the same periods are significantly higher, 40.5% for 1520-38, and 13% for 1539-47, although one might make the same point regarding a decline in bequests after the religious changes of 1538.

made by common councilmen. Sir John Allen, alderman 1515-45 is representative of the rulers of highest status in his bequest to the fraternity of the Name of Jesus in the Crowds of St. Paul's Cathedral towards their next dinner, and to 'be remembered and prayed for at Paul's Cross by the preachers there every sermon'. He also entrusted the sale of items from his estate to the brotherhood in order to benefit the poor, impotent, weak and lame.³⁸ The fraternity of Jesus in St. Paul's was highly prestigious, numbering members of the aristocracy and royal family among its members.³⁹ Yet the rulers, and particularly the common councilmen, placed considerable importance upon the fraternities within their parishes. William Prowe, Dyer, left 12d. each to the brotherhoods of Our Lady and St. Clement in St. Olave, Southwark, in August 1528, while two years later Thomas Carter, Draper, left 20d. to every fraternity of which he was a brother in St. Michael Cornhill.⁴⁰ Bequests to one or more parish fraternities recur in the rulers' wills before 1547.⁴¹

Besides the fraternity, the parish provided further opportunities for testamentary benefaction. Sir Stephen Jenyns, alderman 1499-1523 and Mayor in 1509, rebuilt large parts of his former parish church, St. Andrew Undershaft, and founded a grammar school at Wolverhampton, the town of his birth, although he was a parishioner of St. Mary Aldermanbury when he made

³⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 1.

³⁹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 73^r; 23, fo. 200^r.

⁴¹ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/22, fo. 241^v (John Thompson, Waxchandler, 4 March 1527), fraternities of Our Lady and Jesus in St. Michael Queenhithe; 25, fo. 161^r (John Hill, Haberdasher, 14 February 1535), fraternity of St. Giles in St. Giles Cripplegate; 25, fo. 216^v (Ralph Thompson, Fishmonger, 8 July 1535), fraternity of the Holy Trinity in St. Michael Crooked Lane; 28, fo. 48^r (William Jenyns, Brewer, 3 May 1540), fraternity of Our Lady in St. Bride's Fleet Street.

his will in 1521.⁴² In 1546 Common Councilman John Baxter, Haberdasher, left funds to discharge the poor of his parish from 'payinge to the pascall at Easter' for twenty years.⁴³ Bequests of vestments to increase the splendour of divine worship might also be enlisted to speed the soul through purgatory; in 1530 Thomas Carter, Draper, left a new cope to the church of his parish of birth, C^ashalton in Surrey, 'to the honour of God and all Saints to pray for my soule'.⁴⁴ At the end of February 1539 Oliver Claymond, Clothworker, provided that his Company 'shall yerely foreuermore fynde a pascall light and sepulture light at Easter within the parishe church of Allhalowen Staynyng in London, and also fynding yerely iiij staf torches and the garnysing of xxiiij other torches within the said church vppon Corpus Cristi Daye, to accompany reverently the sacrament for the procession of the same daye'.⁴⁵ Parish processions, one of the most striking visual demonstrations of the community assembled as a religious collective, were successively whittled away in the later years of Henry, and were abolished entirely at the beginning of Edward VI's reign. Similarly the paschal candle before the Easter sepulchre survived the Henrician paring down of votive lights, only to be swept away with the rest of the traditional panoply under his son.⁴⁶

Yet the members of London's corporate government were recruited from the City's craft guilds, and these provided further foci of loyalty,

⁴² Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 102, 131; PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 103.

⁴³ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 55^v.

⁴⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 200^r; 11/22, fo. 85^v (Thomas Cremour, Draper, 15 September 1526).

⁴⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/28, fo. 30^r.

⁴⁶ Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions* I, p. 105.

overlapping and interlinked with parish and fraternity connections.⁴⁷ Founded initially as religious fraternities with craft associations, the City companies retained a prominent role in the complex of mortuary provision, in many ways comparable to the smaller, purely religious fraternities of the parishes. Sir John Milborne, investing in good works for the sake of his soul built alms houses next to the Crossed Friars for fourteen almsfolk, and left property in the parish of St. Olave Hart Street to the Drapers to provide for stipends to the occupants of his almshouses.⁴⁸ Numerous testators requested the presence of members of the livery of their company at their burials, month's minds and obits. Bequests of money to provide a repast for the livery of the company on the day of the burial or soon afterwards, sometimes with explicit requests for the diners to say a *de Profundis* for the testator's soul, occur in many of the rulers' wills, a practice which continued throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, stripped of its overtly Catholic form.⁴⁹ At the same time the companies recognised their own obligations to respect the wishes of their dead. The Haberdashers' Company insisted upon the duty of their members to attend obits where a testator had requested their presence, while the Merchant Taylors were still celebrating annual obits for Sir Stephen Jenyns in St Martin Outwich at the end of Henry VIII's reign, and for Common Councilmen John Creke in St. Mary Abchurch, Hugh Acton in St. Martin Outwich, Thomas Speight in St. Antholin's and Robert

⁴⁷ S. Rappaport, 'Social Structure and Mobility in Sixteenth-Century London: Part I', *London Journal* 9 (1983), pp. 107-135; 'Social Structure and Mobility in Sixteenth-Century London: Part II', *London Journal* 10, (1984), pp. 107-134; *Worlds Within Worlds*. C.f. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 100-148.

⁴⁸ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 102.

⁴⁹ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 119^v (John Gunne, Merchant Taylor, 5 March 1528); 27, fo. 213^r (Thomas Reynold, Fishmonger, 26 March 1539); 37, fo. 246 (Alderman Robert Chertsey, 1 April 1555); GL, MS. 9171/11, fo. 110^r (Randall Barbor, Vintner, 26 May 1543).

Shether in St. Michael Cornhill.⁵⁰ The Company maintained a general obit every year for its departed brethren and sisters, while other testamentary provisions were conscientiously respected; an anthem to be sung by a conduct in St. Mary Woolnoth, the salary of a doctor of divinity for annual sermons in St. Bartholomew's the Less '& for the pascall light there', the washing of the altar cloths at St. Mary Abchurch, and the stipends paid to chantry priests in several other parishes.⁵¹

By the end of Henry's reign, however, the traditional practices were coming under increasing pressure. In January 1522 Sir Stephen Jenyns had provided for the Merchant Taylors to keep an obit for him in the conventual church of the Friars Minor,⁵² but by 1546 £52 10s. had been delivered to the King 'for certen money that was geven vntothys mysterye by Sir Stevyn Jenyns, master Percyvall and Mr. Acton for to kepe an obyte and otherwise to be distrybutyd by this companye, all which is now dissolvdy'. More ominously forty shillings had been spent 'for mete and drynke ordeyned for theym that was appoynted to make the boke of the certyficat of the chauntreyes' in preparation for Henry's abortive Chantries Act of 1545.⁵³

Nonetheless, the presence of Company members at the funeral, or the provision of a feast for them afterwards, remained standard elements in the rulers' wills throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the 1570s the involvement of Company members in mortuary provisions, originally implicitly associated with the cult of the dead, had come to form part of

⁵⁰ GL, MF 298/4, fos. 15^r-v.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fos. 19^r-v.

⁵² PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 103.

⁵³ GL, MF 298 4, fo. 6^r.

an altered pattern of bequest within a distinctly Protestant context.⁵⁴ Puritans such as Sir John Harte and William Elkin made bequests to their companies indistinguishable in substance from those made by their Catholic forbears two generations earlier, including the appointment of preachers at the discretion of the Master and Wardens of their companies.⁵⁵

If the role of the companies was altered by the Reformation, that of charitable benefaction was changed even more dramatically. The belief that present investment in good works might ease the passage of the soul through the pains of purgatory was a defining tenet of pre-Reformation lay piety, and underpinned much of lay charity. Most of London's rulers made some form of charitable provision in their wills, varying in scope from the broad range of bequests left by Alderman John Allen,⁵⁶ to the simple desire of William Ducket, Grocer, that half of the residue of his estate be used in 'deades of charytie, pity and mercye for the helthe of my soule, my ffrendes' soules and all Christen soules'.⁵⁷

The desire for the intercession of the poor on behalf of the testator was often expressed in more concrete terms. Alexander Plimley, Mercer,

⁵⁴ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/66, fo. 108r (Alderman John Heydon, Mercer, 11 March 1580); 57, fo. 42v (Edward Bright, Ironmonger, 4 January 1574); 60, fo. 179v (John God, Merchant Taylor, 19 March 1578).

⁵⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/82, fos. 241r-143r (William Elkin, 22 August 1592); 103, fos. 1r-7v (Sir John Harte, 3 January 1604).

⁵⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 1, dated 13 August 1545. Allen provided a dole of coals to the poor of four London parishes, bread and money to the bedridden poor in the City and within two miles of it and in the lazahouses around the City, bread and ale to the poor in the prisons of Newgate, Ludgate, the Marshalsea, King's Bench, the Bread Street Compter and the Poultry Compter. He provided a dinner for 100 poor men and women in his house after his funeral, while his accustomed dole of bread, meat and pottage to the poor on five days of the week was to continue for a further two years after his death. The fraternity of the Name of Jesus in St. Paul's was entrusted with the sale of some of his goods for poor, impotent, sick and lame people. Further benefactions were made to the poor of the parishes of Shoreditch and Thaxstead, besides a contribution of £100 divided among the 24 wards of London to relieve the poor of the burden of the royal subsidy for the King's wars.

⁵⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/24, fo. 19r (6 October 1530).

established an annual obit for seven years in 1532 at the Priory of Stone and left an associated dole to thirty poor children of the parish attending the obit and 'saying fyve pater nosters, v. aveis and a crede, or the psalme of de Profundis for my sowle'.⁵⁸ Such intercession by the poor, regarded as particularly effective by virtue of their Christ-like poverty,⁵⁹ could be extended further. In 1544 Robert Palmer, Mercer, endowed a perpetual weekly dole of 4d. to four poor men of Perham, Wigenholt and Gretham in Sussex 'to praye for my soule, and for the soule of Brigett my late wief deceased, and for the soules of my ffather and mother and all Christen soules'. Every feast day the four poor men were to say 'at my toombe, kneelinge deuoutly apou their knees togyther at masse time there, in the honour of the ffive woondes of our Lorde Jhu Chryste, ffive pater nosters, ffive ave maries and one credo, humbly and deuoutly desyeryng hym to haue mercy apou my soule and the soules aforesaide, and that we maye be partakers of the joyes euerlastyng'.⁶⁰

Such bequests were intimately linked to pre-Reformation Church teaching on the seven corporal works of mercy. The Church tried to emphasise the dangers of relying too much on one's own good works at the moment of death, instead of trusting to faith in the passion of Christ,⁶¹ and in the wake of Henrician attacks on 'superstitious uses' there appears

⁵⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 42^v.

⁵⁹ E.g. the preamble to John Baxter's will, 18 April 1546: 'ffyrst I do betake and bequethe my soole into the handes of allmightie God thoroughe the meryttes of the blissidd passion of my redeamer and savyoure Jhu Christe. And my bodye, earthe, I bequethe to the earthe, my sinnes to the deuyll, and my worldye goodes I bequethe to my frendes in the worlde, but specially to the poore that they maye be my frendes; that hereby I maye be receyuid into the euerlastinges dwellings, tabernacles or mansions', PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 55^r.

⁶⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/30, fos. 96^v-97^r. Such bequests might be asked equally of dependants who were not poor. William Brocket, Goldsmith left £20 to his apprentice, Lawrence Hussey, 'for th'intent that he shall pray for my soul all the days of his life': PRO, PROB. 11/312^v.

⁶¹ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 313-327, 357-362.

to have been an increase in the number of London's rulers who took pains to emphasise the supremacy of Christ's saving grace over their own works: Thomas Curle, Grocer, left forty shillings worth of bread to the seven prisons in London and its suburbs 'to the honour of my lord God and my soule's helth', in September 1539, placing his charity firmly within the context of divine grace:

...ffirst I recommend and bequeath my sowle, my faithe and my death to my lorde God, my savyour and redemer Christe Jhu, to Our Lady and virgyne Saint Mary and all the holy company of hevyn, with all the good workes and dedes that ever I did by grace to my said lord God, the worker of them and the rewarder of them by his charytable mercye and goodnes withoute any deserte of my behalf.⁶²

Oliver Leder, Fishmonger, expressed this even more strongly in the more Christocentric atmosphere of Mary's reign, displaying indignation at evangelical criticisms of the place of good works in Catholic soteriology. He made his will in September 1554, nearly a year after the restoration of the Mass:

...And thus I doo saye vnto all the worlde to avoide vayne glorie ... but thou onlye, God which arte in heaven, knowith my conscience, and to the I call for mercye, for the worlde is fraile and weake, and is not able to iudge truelie, or to do any good wourke without thi grace or helpe ... and I do desire my saide wif of her charitie and goodnes to thelpe [sic] the poor and to doo other deedes of charitie, not for that I doo trust to my workes, as some prating preachers haue lately borne vs in hande, but holye to the mercye and infinite goodnes of God, for I confesse no man is able to daye [sic] any thinge worthie thancks or rewards.⁶³

Yet it is clear that Leder held an essentially Catholic understanding of the process of intercession. As he promised his witness Sir Lawrence Taylor, to whom he entrusted the keeping of the will; 'I truste to pray for

⁶² PRO, PROB. 11/28, fo. 65^r.

⁶³ PRO, PROB. 11/40, fo. 135^v. Proved 30 April 1558.

you in heaven'.⁶⁴

Nonetheless, the specific linking of charity with prayers for the soul of the testator represents the most common form of testamentary expression of the cult of the dead. Before December 1547, over 66% of the rulers' wills contain some form of request for prayers for their souls. The religious changes of the 1530s and 40s entailed a dramatic reduction in the scope of opportunity available to testators to express the intercessory potential of their charity. The number of wills in which testators explicitly recorded their faith in the efficacy of good works diminished markedly from the 1540s, although despite official condemnation the close relationship between charity and the cult of the dead continued to find occasional expression well into the reign of Edward VI. A similar situation faced the Church at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, although the Catholic testamentary forms proved less stubbornly enduring a second time around.⁶⁵

At the same time, the continuity throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of regular bequests to the poor, the hospitals and the prisons in London, makes identification of charity with the concept of good works on behalf of the soul harder to demonstrate. In 1550 William Pridde bequeathed twenty shillings to his poor neighbours and other poor people, and provided a penny dole every Friday for a year 'for Christe's sake'.⁶⁶ While this may be a more Protestant formulation of the religious value of good works, it is difficult to be certain that Pridde had rejected

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 136^r.

⁶⁵ Edward Steward, Saddler, William Wilford, Merchant Taylor, and Bernard Jenyns, Skinner expressed hopes of post-mortem intercession in 1549, 1550 and 1551 respectively, while Thomas Vicary, Barber-Surgeon, recorded a similar hope in his preamble, 'humbly beseeching the blessed virgin Mary and all the blessed company of heaven to praye for me and with me' on 26 January 1561: PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 330^r; 34, fos. 244^r, 37^v; 45, fo. 66^r.

⁶⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/34, fo. 162^r.

the traditional Catholic rationale. Under Elizabeth these regular forms of charitable bequest, like those involving the livery companies, were incorporated into a specifically Protestant context.⁶⁷

The dismantling of the traditional foci of lay religious benefaction led to a tendency for testators to leave explicit religious bequests out of their wills altogether. John Hill, Haberdasher, made no such bequests whatever in his will of 12 August 1540, leaving his soul simply 'to allmightie God'. Similar is the will of Thomas Addington, dated 24 November 1543, although he did request his wife to 'do suche actes as may be and deades as may be to the pleasure of God and proffitte of my soule'. In both of these cases the testators had turned to William Tolwin, the parson of their parish of St. Atholin's, to write and witness their wills. Tolwin happened to be a religious radical found in possession of Anabaptist literature in 1541, and holding radical religious views which he was forced to recant.⁶⁸ In both of these cases it appears that Tolwin's own convictions influenced the lack of investment in Catholic religious forms, and certainly of their preambles, while his abandonment of many traditional aspects of church ceremonial left his parishioners with reduced options for extensive bequests in any case. Yet many other testators in the mid 1540s begin to display a similar reticence where local pressures from the parish priest were not as extreme. Paul Withypoll, a prominent commoner who represented the City in three parliaments, made no religious bequests in his will of 1542, and, indeed, no firm evidence exists for his

⁶⁷ William Wyatt, Grocer, left 5 s. a year for ten years to the poor in London's prisons 'for the love of God in satisfying of my conscience, to be distributed amongst them where moste nede requireth as ye shall thinke best even as yow loue God', PRO, PROB. 11/47, fo. 159^r (10 April 1564). William Coxe, Haberdasher, bequeathed £10 'amonge the poore people beinge straungers borne of the Frenche and Dutche church within the Citie of London', PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 145^r (6 May 1569).

⁶⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/28, fos 117^v-118^f; 30, fo. 23^v; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, pp. 448-452.

own religious views, though he may have been traditionally minded.⁶⁹ At Henrician and early Edwardian religious changes thus led to alterations in testamentary practice with profound implications for the quality and quantity of our evidence for public expressions of lay religious devotion. Since the cult of the dead formed the basis for most testamentary pious provision before the Reformation, the abolition of the institutional infrastructure supporting the cult may be used as a benchmark to test the practical implications of religious legislation upon the testamentary material. Table 1 compares all the wills made by the City rulers in the two years before and after the surrender of the London houses of friars to the Crown on 12 October 1538, and the passage of the Edwardian Chancies Act on 21 December 1547.

Table One: Percentage of Rulers' Wills providing for Religious Bequests within two years of the Dissolution of London's Religious Houses and Chantries

	Obits	Trentals	Religious Houses	Prayers for Soul	Fraternities
1536-1538	62.5%	25%	31.25%	50%	31.25%
1538- 1540	30%	0.5%	0.5%	40%	15%
1545- 1547	25%	0%	0%	33.3%	0%
1547-1549	0%	0%	0%	28.6%	0%

A high proportion of the rulers were prepared to invest in the central elements of traditional piety up to the time of the dissolution of London's religious houses in 1538. It is particularly striking that nearly a third of the testators made bequests to the religious houses in the two years before their dissolution, despite the Act of 1536 dissolving the smaller houses. The endowment of trentals collapsed with the closure of

⁶⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 298; *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, 3 vols. (London, 1982), s.n. Withypoll.

the religious houses, but the other main forms of bequest continued, albeit at a diminishing rate, until the Edwardian Chantries Act removed the institutional basis of the doctrine of purgatory and masses satisfactory. Over a quarter of the rulers expressed a Catholic conception of the nature of charity, even after the dissolution of the chantries.

This is particularly significant when the development of will preambles in the last years of Henry is considered in relation to the religious convictions of the testators. The majority of Henrician preambles are wholly traditional, leaving the soul to God, the Virgin and the saints. As early as the 1520s a few stressed the intercessory role of the Virgin and saints as mediators between the testator and God, rather than as divine beings in their own right. Alderman Thomas Mirfyn, in 1523, provides an early example of such a preamble;

...I, trusting through and by the merits of Jesu Christ, our saviour and redemptor, to be a saved soul and a partaker with him of the joys of heaven in the house of God, and for the wealth of my soul and the profit of my wife, my children and other my lovers and friends, make, ordain and declare my testament and last will...that is to say, first I bequeath my soul to almighty God, my maker and redemptor, and to his most glorious and blessed mother and virgin, our lady Saint Mary, and unto all the holy company of heaven.⁷⁰

However, while this provides the 'reformed', or 'evangelical' form of preamble with clear antecedents, of 195 wills made by the rulers up to the end of 1547 just over 13% begin with the 'reformed' preamble form. That of the evangelical Humphrey Monmouth, dated 16 November 1537, will serve as an example of this type;

ffirst and princypally I comend my soule vnto allmighty Jhus my maker and redemar, in whome and by the merits of whose blessed passion is all my hole truste of clere remyssion and

⁷⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/21, fo. 97.

forgevenes of my synnes.⁷¹

Monmouth's will was written by the scrivener William Carkke, who, as an evangelical himself,⁷² was clearly employing a formula which best expressed his beliefs without diverging too obviously from the established orthodoxy. His apprentices Thomas Bradshaw and William Pierson used the same formula.⁷³ Carkke's hand may be discerned behind 11 of the 26 occurrences of this preamble form, the earliest by Carkke's hand appearing in August 1536, in the will of the Catholic Geoffrey Vaughan.⁷⁴ A similar form was adopted by another evangelical scrivener, Henry Bright. Monmouth and Robert Packington are the only known evangelical testators among the rulers to have employed Carkke up to 1547, and at least six of his employers were certainly Catholic. While nearly all the known evangelicals did prefer the 'Carkke' preamble, this form is highly unreliable as a guide to religious belief, especially after 1540 when it became increasingly common. A similar case might be argued for preambles produced by evangelical clergy, as in those written by William Tolwin.

By contrast, the traditional Catholic formula, mentioning the Virgin and saints, may represent a more reliable indicator of religious belief, although its occurrence cannot guarantee the Catholicism of a testator. The convicted heretic John Purser used a traditional style preamble in his will dated 23 December 1532, bequeathing his soul 'to allmyghti God, to oure ladye and to all saynts'. Yet several prominent evangelical colleagues, including Common Councilman George Tadowe, witnessed the document. The

⁷¹ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 98^r.

⁷² Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 319-20, 349, 384.

⁷³ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 97^v; 30, fo. 253^v.

⁷⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/30, fo. 2^v.

posthumous burning of William Tracy as a heretic on the grounds of the wording of his will suggests that the Church was sensitive, by the early 1530s, to the theological implications of testamentary provisions.⁷⁵ However, if Purser was guided by recent events, and by a lack of acceptable alternatives at that early date, the increasing adoption of the 'Carkke' - style preamble by evangelicals and Catholics from the later 1530s suggests that by the end of Henry's reign evangelicals did not have to employ preamble forms which directly contradicted their own beliefs. For this reason the appearance of a traditional style preamble unaccompanied by characteristically Catholic bequests may indicate Catholic convictions on the part of the testator. This seems to be particularly true of testators employing the traditional form after the accession of Edward VI and Elizabeth.

Nevertheless, 'Carkke'-style preambles become more common from about 1540, ultimately coming to predominate in the more Christocentric style of Catholicism that emerged in Mary's reign.⁷⁶ Thus in April 1555, Alderman Robert Chertsey bequeathed his soul 'to almighty God my maker, and to his son Jesus Christ, my saviour and redeemer, in whom and by the merits of whose blessed passion is my trust of clean remission and forgiveness of my

⁷⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/25, fo. 49^r; 11/39, fo. 168 (George Tadolwe); S. Brigden, 'Thomas Cromwell and the "Brethren"', in C. Cross, D. Loades and J. J. Scarisbrick (eds.), *Law and Government under the Tudors. Essays presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 33-36.

⁷⁶ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/23, fos. 125^v-126^r (Simon Rice, Mercer, 7 March 1530): 'first I bequeth my soule vnto almighty Jesu, trusting verely that by the merites of his blessed passion and through the merits and intercession of his blissed mother, saint Marie the virgyn, and of all the saints of hevyn, to be saved at the dredfull day of jugement'; 28, fo. 46^v (William Cautwell, Fruiterer, 3 May 1540); 31, fo. 384^v (Thomas Wood, Cooper, 9 June 1547); 32, fo. 189^r (Thomas Burnell, Mercer, 8 May 1548); 11/39, fo. 53^v (Roger Horton, Goldsmith, 4 October 1556): 'I gyue and bequeth my soule vnto almyghtie God my maker and redemer, by whom and by the merytts of whose glorious passion, death and mightie resurrection, throughe the intercession of his glorious mother, Our Blissed Lady saynt Marye and all the holy compayne of heaven, I faithfully truste to haue clere remission and forgyvenes of my synnes'.

sins'.⁷⁷ He was not employing a 'neutral' formula simply to avoid potential trouble, or expressing evangelical opinions, for he set aside a considerable sum for rebuilding the rood and reglazing the windows of St. Lawrence Jewry. In fact he was employing a formula which expressed his faith in a meaningful fashion, just as Sir John Cotes, whose obit provisions we have noted above, employed William Carkke to write a similar preamble to his will.⁷⁸

Evangelical Belief in the Rulers' Wills

In many ways the identification of evangelical commitment through testamentary material presents more serious difficulties than is the case for Catholic conviction, not least because there are few forms of bequest in the Henrician period which may be considered unequivocal signs of evangelism. Nonetheless, if there exists a textbook example of an evangelical will from London's ruling élite it is surely that made by Alderman Humphrey Monmouth, on 16 November 1537. His religious provisions contrast sharply with those of his fellow draper and alderman John Milborne.

I will my bodye shalbe brought to the buriall in the morning after my deceas, or shortly after, with iiij or vj staff torches burning onely, without any braunches torches or hersse, and without any dirige to be song or said. Then, and immediatly after my bodye buried, I will haue to preche a sermond eyther Doctor Crome, Doctor Barnes or els Maister Taylor, parson of Sainct Peter's in Cornhill, to the lawde and praise of my lorde and savior Jesus Christe, to the setting forthe of his holly and blessed worde, and to the declaracion and testymonye of my faithe towards the same. And I will that my lord busshop of Worcestor, Doctor Barnes, Doctor Crome and Mr. Taylor shall preache in my parishe church aforesaid [All

⁷⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 246.

⁷⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 232.

Hallows Barking] every weeke iij sermons, till they haue preached amonges them thirty sermons ... And that this thing may be performed the better , I bequethe to eyther of my especiall and singuler good lords, Sir Thomas Awdeley, knight, Lorde Chauncellour, and Sir Thomas Cromewell, knight, Lorde Cromewell, a standing cuppe of syluer and gilt ... that they may be good lords to thes preachours, to help them and mayntayne them that they be suffred to preache the foresaid sermons, quietly to the lawde and prayse of allmighty God, to the setting furth of my prynce's goddly and hevinly purpose: to the vtter abolisshing and extincting of the vsurped and false feyned power of the Bisshop of Rome.⁷⁹

Monmouth was the only member of the élite in this period to make an emphatic statement of rejection of Papal authority, but the names of the clergy he chose to preach his sermons are equally significant. Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Worcester since 1535, had been an advocate of vernacular scripture perhaps since 1528, when Monmouth himself had experienced trouble for suspected Lutheran sympathies, and he remembered Monmouth in a sermon delivered before the Duchess of Suffolk in 1552.⁸⁰ Robert Barnes, former Prior of the Augustinian Friars of Cambridge, and a member of the Cambridge 'White Horse tavern' circle of evangelical clergy, had been involved with German merchants of the Steelyard importing banned books since Wolsey's great book-burning spectacle in February 1526, and subsequently fled into exile after a spell of imprisonment. He was in Wittenburg by 1530, acting as a messenger in efforts to gain sympathy with Henry VIII for Lutheran ideas by providing intellectual armaments for the divorce case. In July 1535, while Henry was pursuing negotiations with the German princes, Barnes was made royal chaplain, ultimately attaining martyrdom at Smithfield on 30 July 1540.⁸¹ Edward Crome, another member of the Cambridge circle,

⁷⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 98.

⁸⁰ W. A. Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants, 1520-1535* (New Haven, 1964), pp. 271-74; *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, ed. G. E. Corrie (Parker Society, 1844), pp. 440-41.

⁸¹ Clebsch, *Op. Cit.*, 44-55.

rector of St. Mary Aldermary and St. Antholin's, was forced into public recantation of sacramentarian views in 1546, and was to be imprisoned in 1554 for preaching without licence before he recanted his beliefs.⁸² The effects of his preaching could be dramatic. Less than a year after Monmouth's death, in May 1538, the court of aldermen began proceedings against eleven persons who had pulled down the famous rood of St. Margaret Pattens 'as they say Mr. Crome preached, by report of the Bishop of Winchester'.⁸³ John Taylor, Rector of St. Peter Cornhill 1536-52, after a spell of imprisonment for his evangelical opinions in 1546, was appointed to the commission which drew up the first Edwardian Prayer Book in 1548, and became Bishop of Lincoln in 1552. Deprived of the see in 1554 he died soon afterwards.⁸⁴

Monmouth required thirty sermons, suggesting a deliberate replacement of traditional provisions for trentals of masses by an evangelical alternative.⁸⁵ They were to be given a strongly evangelical slant:

...I will that at the end of every sermond the quere shall begyn Te Deum, to lawde and prayse my lord Jesus Christe, to give to him hartie thanks for his hevinly and goostly worde, and to beseche hym for his tender mercye and his swete blood's sake that he will contynew and increase it dayly more and more in the harttes of his people, and allso that it may pleas hys inestymable godly goodenes to maytaine our said soueraign lorde the King, and further his godly and gracious purpose, amen.⁸⁶

⁸² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, 413; Clebsch, *Op. Cit.*, 42; J. Venn and J. A. Venn (eds.), *Alumni Cantabrigiensis, Part I, From the Earliest Times to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-1927), I, 421.

⁸³ CLRO, Rep. 10, fo. 34^v.

⁸⁴ Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, IV, 205; C. H. Cooper and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigiensis*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1858, 1861, 1913), I, 121; *DNB*, s.n. Taylor, John.

⁸⁵ The arrangement was sufficiently unusual to attract the notice of the chronicler Wriothesley, who related in detail Monmouth's provisions for his funeral, particularly the fact that he desired 30 sermons 'instead of a Trentall': Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 72.

⁸⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 98^v.

Monmouth's funerary arrangements were unusual in other ways, anticipating the Edwardian abolition of bell ringing except for a single toll to the Sunday sermon in 1547:⁸⁷

I will haue no preests and clerks at my funerall masse then do serue daylye in our parishe churche...I will no bells shalbe rong for me, but onely a peale to the sermond...At my monethe mynde I will haue nothing done except it be a sermond...I will haue no more morners but my two executors and my mother in law and myn aunte, Agnes Huwys.⁸⁸

As executors, Monmouth appointed his wife Margery and his father in law, Alderman William Denham, a man of traditional religious beliefs,⁸⁹ yet as overseer he appointed Robert Barnes, to whom he bequeathed £40 and a gown. Indeed, Barnes journeyed to meet Hugh Latimer in Worcestershire to discuss means of implementing Monmouth's will.⁹⁰

In several cases unusual preamble wording offers our best indications of heterodox belief. George Crowche, Skinner, made his will in September 1544:

...thancks be gyuen vnto God the ffather allmyghty, and to Ihu Chryste, his onely sonne my onely savyour, redeemer and mediator, yn and by whome I truste to haue remysion of my synnes thoroughe the shedyng of his precyous bloode, and that for his mercie's sake: *for I vtterly forsake myne owne woorkes or deservings, or anny other mennes' demeritts to be anny thinge of valwe [sic] as concerning my saluacion or iustfyacion*; for I beleve that Chryste dyed for my synnes and arose againe for to iustfye me and all them that vnfeignedely doo beleve and truste in hym, accordyng to his promys. And I beleve that he shall come at the laste daye and

⁸⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 451-452.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ CLRO, HR 248 (134), Memb. 30^r. Denham required post-mortem prayers for his soul in his will dated 12 September 1544.

⁹⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 99; J. Fines, *A Biographical Register of Early English Protestants and others opposed to the Roman Catholic Church*, 2 vols. (West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, 1985), II, s.n. Monmouth, Humphrey; *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camden Society, 77, 1859), 298.

aryse me vpp, bothe in body and soule, and take me vnto
himselpe to reigne with hym in his glory for euer, to whome I
commyt myselpe vnto his mercy. Ffor if I had doon as muche
good as all men, yet hit hadde been as nothing yn comparyson
of the great benefits whiche I haue receaued of the goodnes of
God. Ffor I was neuer able of myselpe to thincke one good
thought, wherefore to that lorde be all honnor, prayse and
thanckes gyuen, as the gyver of grace and goodes, whiche is
ascended into heaven, and sittythe on the right hande of God
the ffather, to whome aungells doo reverence amen. My body to
be buryed in Christian buryall where hit shall please myne
executours, withoute pompe or vayneglory, or ootherwyse
superfluos.⁹¹

Crowche left no religious bequests of any kind, even excluding the traditional token sum to the high altar of his parish church in payment of tithes withheld, and the denial of the value of his works is sufficiently early to suggest a rather different interpretation from that of Oliver Leder, ten years later. It may be significant that Crowche's executor, the future commoner Thomas Hunt, Skinner, likewise made no religious bequests at all when he made his own will in July 1557.⁹²

Under Edward VI, however, evangelicals enjoyed greater opportunities to express their convictions through practical bequests. Alderman Richard Turke, of the parish of St. Magnus where a coterie of evangelicals grew up in the latter years of Henry, provided for 100 sermons to be delivered by 'godly and learned preachers' after his death. The extent of the bequest in the religious context of October 1552, when he made his will, must represent an evangelical religious commitment; none of the known Catholics among the rulers requested more than a funeral sermon and possibly one sermon more in the following month during the years of Edward's reign, apparently in emulation of the traditional practice of performing the month's mind. Turke left further funds to support two scholars of divinity

⁹¹ PRO, PROB. 11/30, fos. 120^v-121^r (my italics).

⁹² PRO, PROB. 11/42B, fos. 107^r-111^r.

at Oxford and Cambridge. In itself this was not a radical departure: a number of testators had made similar provisions throughout the previous thirty years, but as with the sermons, the bequest is suggestive given the religious climate in which the testator would expect his provisions to be performed.⁹³

Similarly William Robins, Mercer, left £100 'to the exhibition of poor scholars that have no friends to help them, and that they shall study divinity and do intend to preach the word of God when God shall endue them with learning for the same'.⁹⁴ The will was drawn up in September 1549, and Robins did not see fit to alter it before its eventual probate in February 1553. In May 1547 Common councilman William Merry, Grocer, required his executors to provide 'oon hundred sermondcs to be preached by som godlye lerned men yerely within foure yeres after my deceas', forty of which were to be delivered in London, sixty in the country at large. £150 was left to the London hospitals 'where the King's maiestie of his most godly disposicion hath erected and instituted an vniuersall godly order to be had within the Citie of London for the relief, succour and helpe of impotent, sicke and feble personcs', which is equally significant in view of the avowedly evangelical slant given to the preaching and teaching that took place within the City hospitals as constituted under Edward. This emphasis seems to lie behind Merry's request that his goods 'which I haue receyved here of God's lyberall gifte' be distributed 'to the honour of God and profite of my poor neighbours, I meane in suche kynde of works and dedes as God hath prepared in his holy worde for vs to walk in'.⁹⁵

Thomas Archer, Cordwainer, left 12d. to 'synging men to syng salmes

⁹³ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 214.

⁹⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/36, fo. 18.

⁹⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fos. 315^{r-v}.

and other godly lessons at my buryall' in June 1550. He, like Purser, was a friend of George Tadolwe, whom he made overseer of the will. One of his close associates, John Sheriff, had been a prominent figure in the shadowy evangelical group known as the Christian Brethren in the early 1530s, while another, John Wisdom, insisted in July 1559 that at his own burial 'in no wiese will I haue any singinge'.⁹⁶ In the same way the religious sympathies of Richard Hill, Mercer,⁹⁷ may be revealed by association. Hill married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Locke,⁹⁸ thus joining the close-knit evangelical group that had grown up in the Mercers' Company by the end of Henry's reign. In 1564 he made his brother in law, John Cosworth, overseer to his will, which was witnessed by the Marian exiles Anthony Hickman and Henry Locke. Cosworth himself was a family friend of the Lockes, witnessing the will of Henry's brother Thomas in 1553, taking up in 1559 the duty of oversight, along with Richard Hill, of the will of Thomas Stacy, Mercer, another associate of Anthony Hickman.⁹⁹

Investment in the Edwardian Church service characterises the will of Ralph Davenant, Merchant Taylor, in November 1552, that is when the more rigorously Protestant liturgy of the second Edwardian Prayer Book was in force. Like Archer he required the Company of Clerks to 'bringe my boddy

⁹⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/33, fo. 140^v; SP 1/237, fo. 78^r; GL MS. 9171/15, fo. 99^r.

⁹⁷ This Richard Hill has sometimes been confused with his younger contemporary Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor, the evangelical whose correspondence with the Swiss Reformer Heinrich Bullinger survives. The History of Parliament states that the 1564 will belonged to the merchant taylor, although Hill clearly identifies himself as 'citizen and Mercer of London': House of Commons, 1509-1558, s. n. Hilles, Richard. A further complication arises from Benbow's identification of at least two and perhaps three individuals of the same name in the Elizabethan period. Only one will has been found for a merchant taylor of the right name, and this belongs to the one who died in 1587. It is thus assumed here that the two most prominent Richard Hilles in Benbow's listing are in fact the same man.

⁹⁸ *Visitation of London 1568*, ed. S. W. Rawlins (Harleian Society 109/110, London, 1963), pp. 19, 22, 73.

⁹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/50, fo. 159^v; 38, fo. 180^r; 43, fo. 133^v.

to the earthe, singinge suche godly psalmes in Englishe before me as nowe is vsed for the deade'. Requesting the preaching of ten sermons in his parish church, Allhallows Bread Street, he left a further £4 'towardses the makinge of a lofte for maydens to sytt in, the whiche lofte I will shall extende from the churche dore there to the place where the pulpett nowe standeth'.¹⁰⁰ This contribution to remodelling the interior of the church in line with the altered requirements of the Edwardian liturgy suggests that Davenant was acting on a profound evangelical impulse to further the establishment of the Reformed service in his own parish. The writer of the will was William Carkke's apprentice, William Pierson.

Reactions of London's Rulers to the Henrician Reformation

Testamentary evidence, therefore, provides a suggestive context within which to place the reactions of the rulers as individuals and as members of the Corporation of London, to the Henrician religious changes. In the face of royal moves against the London Charterhouse, one of the more significant focuses for their devotion until the mid 1530s, the rulers made a clear decision to abstain from any attempt to remonstrate with the King on its behalf. Individually a good many of the rulers were not slow to profit from the dissolution of the monasteries; Sir Richard Gresham purchased Fountains Abbey along with other former monastic property.¹⁰¹ Sir Martin Bowes, who presided as Lord Mayor over the trial of Anne Askew in 1546, would later bear the odium of John Stow for his pillaging of the Grey Friars, and not least for his stripping of the marble and brass from the tombs within the church, which involved the destruction of the tomb of

¹⁰⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/36, fos. 11^v-12^r.

¹⁰¹ *House of Commons, 1509-1558*, s.n. Gresham.

Sir Stephen Jenyns:

For there were nine tombs of alabaster and marble, environed with strikes of iron in the choir, and one tomb in the body of the church, also coped with iron, all pulled down, besides sevenscore gravestones of marble, all sold for fifty pounds or thereabouts, by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith and alderman of London.¹⁰²

Yet the City made efforts to secure at least some of the former monastic property for continued use as hospital accommodation or for religious services. Mayor Sir Richard Gresham seems to have associated closely with Thomas Cromwell in looking to the monastic properties as a source for poor relief, a true Christian purpose for them, and he wrote to the King expressing these hopes in August 1538, some months before the London religious houses were dissolved.¹⁰³ In March 1539 the Corporation took up the scheme of the ex-Mayor, and petitioned the king to grant the former hospitals of St. Mary's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas' to the commonalty, as well as the Abbey at Tower Hill 'founded of good devotion by ancient fathers'. It was hoped that the properties might be used

only for the relief, comfort and aid of the poor and indigent people not being able to help themselves, and not to the maintenance of priests, canons and monks, carnally living as they of late have done, nothing regarding the miserable people living in the street, offending every clean person with passing by the way with their filthy and nasty savours. Wherefore it may please your merciful goodness ever inclined to pity and compassion, for the relief of Christ's very images created to his own similitude to order and establish...[that the City]...may from henceforth have the order, rule, disposition and governance of all the said hospitals and abbey.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 288.

¹⁰³ J. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it...under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary I*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1822), I (i), pp. 409-411.

¹⁰⁴ CLRO, Jor. 14, fo. 129^{r-v}.

A second petition requested the grant of the four conventual churches of the dissolved Black, White, Grey and Augustine Friars

syth yt hath pleased God to revelle to your maiestye the truthe of his blessed worde, and to perceyue and knowe theyr symulate sanctytie and comen flattering, and according to their demerits, like a most godly, catholic and virtuous prince have extirpated and extinct the the said orders of Friars to the great exaltation of Christ's doctrine and the abolition of Antichrist their first founder and beginner.

The crowds of sick persons deprived of the frequent masses within the Friars' churches, the largest in the City besides St. Paul's, were now threatening to overcrowd the smaller parish churches, with consequent risk of infection to the rest of the congregation. Thus the friars' churches were 'most apt and meet for God's word to be preached in and also for all strangers resorting to this your City to hear mass in without disturbing of the parishioners of the small parishes.'¹⁰⁵ Henry's refusal to grant the former monastic properties without substantial payment by the City led to protracted negotiations, and delayed acquisition of the lands until late in the reign, by which time the original plan had undergone some modification.¹⁰⁶ The grant made to the City on 13 January 1547 comprised only St. Bartholomew's and St. Mary of Bethlehem.¹⁰⁷ The essential Christian duty of providing for the poor also provided a focus in corporate action for Catholic reformers and evangelicals alike; Sir Richard Gresham took a prominent role in the entire process of obtaining the lands from the Crown, and was a close associate of Cromwell in these aspects of

¹⁰⁵ CLRO, Jor. 14, fos. 129^v-130^r.

¹⁰⁶ CLRO, Jor. 14, fos. 216^v, 351^v; Rep. 10, fos. 81^v, 82^r, 86^v, 178^v, 216^v-217^r; 11, fo. 231^v.

¹⁰⁷ *Memoranda Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London* (London, 1846), pp. 7-11.

reform,¹⁰⁸ yet was himself no evangelical. In 1549 he left rings of remembrance to Anthony Bonvisi and the conservative Recorder of London Robert Broke,¹⁰⁹ while his activities as a heresy commissioner in 1541 earned him the loathing of an anonymous pamphleteer after his death.¹¹⁰

The Corporation was closely involved in the persecutions of heresy throughout Henry's reign, and later in that of Mary. Bonner's assumption of the sympathy of the City rulers in 1549 was based to some extent upon a long partnership in defence of orthodoxy. By the terms of the statute *de haeretico comburendo* the responsibility of the church courts in heresy cases ended with the conviction of the guilty party, who was then handed over to the secular arm for execution of sentence. In London this duty habitually fell to the sheriffs. When the former monk Richard Bayfield was condemned by Bishop Tunstall of London in 1531, the Bishop wrote to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City requiring that by the terms of the Act they be present in St. Paul's when sentence was pronounced, that they might then take Bayfield into custody before burning him.¹¹¹ The heresy commission established in 1541 to deal with infringements of the Act of Six Articles in London was headed by Lord Mayor William Roche, and included Aldermen Sir John Allen, Sir Ralph Warren, Sir Richard Gresham and commoners John Gresham and Michael Dormer. The Mayor presided over the subsequent trials with Bishop Bonner.¹¹² Indeed the Guildhall itself, the physical heart of London's government, became the stage for many of the

¹⁰⁸ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 239, 274, 294.

¹⁰⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 233.

¹¹⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 440; A. G. Rigg, 'Two Poems on the Death of Sir Richard Gresham (ca. 1485-1549)', *Guildhall Miscellany* 2 (1960-68), pp. 389-91.

¹¹¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV, p. 686; CLRO, Jor. 13, fo. 289^v.

¹¹² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* V, pp. 440-442.

heresy proceedings in the later years of Henry. In 1546 Nicholas Shaxton and Anne Askew, among others, were arraigned for heresy at the Guildhall and were condemned to burn. Among the chief justices were Lord Mayor Sir Martin Bowes, whose rather amateurish attempts to refute Askew's heresies on theological grounds led to a hasty adjournment of the trial lest he allow the heretics further propaganda.¹¹³ Responsibility for the construction of suitable seating in Smithfield for the privy council and the Lord Mayor and aldermen fell to George Medley, Chamberlain of the City.¹¹⁴

Yet when royal fiat decreed the abolition of traditional religious customs, the Corporation was duty bound to take action. Just as the Corporation was represented at the great general religious processions by Mayor, aldermen and livery, so too was its presence required at the executions of opponents of the royal supremacy. On the same day in 1538 as the rood of St. Margaret Pattens was broken by iconoclasts the 'maior of London, with most part of the aldermen and shrives' watched the burning of the papal supporter Friar Forrest with the image of Darvell Gadern brought from Wales.¹¹⁵ On 19 November 1538 the mayor issued an order to each of the aldermen to see that the parish clergy in their wards 'do not deck, trim or set forth any child or other person to use or occupy the room of Saint Nicholas the Bishop as it hath been accustomed'.¹¹⁶ The festival of the Boy Bishop, on 5 December, would not be specifically

¹¹³ Wriothsesley, *Chronicle*, I pp. 167-168; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 51; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, pp. 538-39; *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, pp. 40-41.

¹¹⁴ CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 275^v.

¹¹⁵ Wriothsesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 64, 65-66, 69, 80.

¹¹⁶ CLRO, Jor. 14, fo. 117^r.

abrogated until 1541¹¹⁷ but numerous saints' days had been abolished as holidays in 1536,¹¹⁸ and were attacked again in the injunctions of 1536 and 1538, while the fact that the Mayor referred to the custom as one 'among other vain and superstitious ceremonies', may suggest he was reacting to a royal proclamation of 16 November 1538, which condemned 'all superstitious abuses and idolatries', while recommending rites and ceremonies not abrogated by law.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the same proclamation commanded that St. Thomas Beckett, patron saint of London 'shall not be esteemed, named reputed nor called a saint, but Bishop Becket, and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels and other places', while his feast day was also to be abolished. The shrine of Beckett at Canterbury had already been dissolved, and Cromwell had caused the removal of Beckett's images from his reputed birthplace, St. Thomas of Acre in London, in September.¹²⁰ Not until nearly a year later did the City remove the image of Beckett on its seal since 'all suche images owgth by the Kyng's highnesse proclamacion to be alteryd, chaunged and abolysshed withyn all hys domynyons'.¹²¹ Under Edward VI the new communion service was promptly instituted in place of the Mass at the centre of civic ceremonial; at Michaelmas 1549 (29 September) the traditional service in the Guildhall chapel preceeding the election of a new Lord Mayor was celebrated in English 'according to the King's Book'. In successive years until 1552, when the service was replaced by a sermon,

¹¹⁷ P. L. Hughes & J. F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations, 1485-1603*, 3 vols. (New Haven, 1964), I, no. 203.

¹¹⁸ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 394; CLRO, Jor. 12, fo. 243.

¹¹⁹ Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, II, pp. 5, 41-42; Hughes & Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, no. 186.

¹²⁰ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 86-87.

¹²¹ Hughes & Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, *loc. cit.*; CLRO, Jor. 14, fo. 158^v.

Sir Martin Bowes attended with his colleagues.¹²²

Conservative Resistance and Evangelical Book Smuggling

The Corporation might conform, but opposition to the break with Rome, the King's assumption of the Royal Supremacy and the religious changes from 1536, marked the careers of several prominent rulers. The civic career of Richard Farmer, Grocer, was destroyed by his conservatism. A member of common council until 1539, with a brief spell as alderman in 1535, Farmer was attainted of treason in May 1540. Accused of harbouring a chaplain who maintained the Pope's authority, and of subsequently supporting him in prison with food and money, Farmer suffered confiscation of his goods and perpetual imprisonment for infringing the statutes against those upholding the authority of the Pope on 8 May 1540. He was freed on bail on 25 August, apparently unrepentant.¹²³ His will, dated 1 July 1551, employed an outspokenly Catholic preamble, leaving his soul 'to almighty God my maker and redeemer, and Our Blessed Lady, Saint Mary the Virgin, mother of Christ, and to all the Company in Heaven, beseeching them to be mediators and intercessors unto almighty God for the salvation of my sinful soul'.¹²⁴

Alderman Sir William Holles, Mercer, was rumoured to sympathise with the rebels undertaking the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.¹²⁵ Indeed, the Crown intervened in the normal succession of civic office in order to keep

¹²² Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 23, 43, 55, 77.

¹²³ PRO SP 31/3 (*L&P* XV, pp. 325-26); SP 1/160, fos. 13-20 (*L&P* XV, pp. 309-10); E 315/313B (*L&P* XV, pp. 464-65).

¹²⁴ PRO SP 1/162, fo. 85 (*L&P* XV, p. 498); PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 19.

¹²⁵ CLRO Rep. 9, fos. 210^r-212^r.

him from the mayoralty in this sensitive period: in October 1536 'the Kinges letter was sent to elect Mr. Raffe Warren, marcer, for major for the yeare followinge, which was incontynent chosen by the assente of the Commens accordynge to the Kinges mynde'.¹²⁶ Despite City protests, Holles was kept out of the mayoral dignity until Henry had set his mind on renewed persecution of heretical belief.¹²⁷ Finally elected in 1539, he headed the first heresy commission in London under the Act of Six Articles in August 1540.¹²⁸ Holles' will suggests that he maintained close connections with some of the most prominent papal supporters in London in the 1540s. Among his executors he appointed Alderman Andrew Judde and 'myne especiaII friend Anthony Bonevise, merchant of Luke'.¹²⁹ Bonvisi had been a close friend and supporter of Sir Thomas More during his time in the Tower. He supported More's family in 1547, and finally left for exile with them in 1549.¹³⁰ Holles revealed his piety through a full range of traditional practices, endowing an obit for twenty years in St. Helen's Bishopsgate, besides an unbeneficed chantry priest to sing for his soul and those of his wife and all Christians in St. Thomas Beckett's.¹³¹ His provision of funds to erect the cross of Cross Chipping in Coventry drew the qualified praise of his descendant, Gervase Holles, writing 110

¹²⁶ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 57.

¹²⁷ CLRO, Rep. 9, fo. 201^r; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 67.

¹²⁸ CLRO, Jor. 14, fo. 215^v: letter from Henry to Bishop Bonner, Lord Mayor William Holles, and other commissioners 'de et super omnibus et omnimodum heresibus, falsis opinionibus at aliis offensis', on form and conduct of heresy procedures.

¹²⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/29, fo. 109.

¹³⁰ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 420-21.

¹³¹ PRO, PROB. 11/29, fo. 109.

years later.¹³²

Alderman William Bowyer, Draper, had opposed the passage of the Act in Restraint of Appeals, and was a close friend of his fellow MP, the conservative Catholic Clement Smith.¹³³ Common Councilman John Twyford, Vintner, was

... a furious papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the stakes in Smithfield whereat the good saints of God were burned.¹³⁴

Twyford, executioner of Frith, Bayfield and Bainham among others, conducted something of a vendetta against the evangelical element in his parish,¹³⁵ and, according to Foxe, ultimately died a miserable death, as did the Town Clerk William Pavier and Alderman David Woodroffe. For Foxe the manner of their deaths was the inevitable punishment for their adherence to the traditional religion.¹³⁶ Twyford's will illustrates further something of his conservatism. Dated 20 August 1549, he yet bequeathed his soul 'to almightie God, his blessed mother Our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the glorious company of heaven'. He desired burial 'in Our Lady chapell nygh to my pughe, with solempe dyrige and the blessed comunyon according to the Kinge's maiestie's proceedings', a clear indication of the merging of

¹³² G. Holles, *Memorials of the Holles Family 1493-1656*, ed. A. C. Wood (Camden Society 3rd series, 55, 1937), pp. 20-21. Gervase seems to have been able to reconstruct little more of his ancestor's life than we can, although he claims to possess Sir William's account books and consulted the Repertories in the Guildhall: *ibid.*, pp. 16, 19.

¹³³ *The House of Commons, 1509-1558*, s.n. Bowyer, Appendix VII, s.n. Bowyer; Bowyer's will, 28 March 1544: PRO, PROB. 11/30, fo. 87 - Clement Smith is made overseer and a beneficiary, while the conservative Catholic lawyer and MP Robert Broke made and engrossed the will; *House of Commons, 1509-1558* s.n. Broke & Smith.

¹³⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, pp. 601-2.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 601-2; PRO, SP 1/162, fos. 154^r-155^r.

¹³⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV pp. 705-6; V, pp. 65-6; VII, pp. 194-95.

traditional beliefs with the newer means of religious expression.¹³⁷

Yet the same changes gave the evangelicals their opportunity. Royal sponsorship of an English bible made the importation of religious books the most significant activity undertaken by the evangelical merchants, while Thomas Cromwell's patronage allowed them to further their own religious aspirations. The role of printers such as Thomas Berthelet and Richard Grafton was crucial in the production of polemical works in favour of the replacement of papal by royal supremacy in the Church, while the ability of evangelical merchants to supply heterodox literature gave Cromwell's London contacts a particular importance.¹³⁸ The contacts developed amongst evangelicals in the merchant class in the Henrician period provided a crucial basis of support for the Edwardian Reformation in the capital, while a number of Londoners who served as Protestant members of the court of aldermen or in common council under Elizabeth seem to have first experienced religious conversion in the 1530s and 1540s. Humphrey Monmouth's career is particularly illuminating because it is comparatively well documented, in a disingenuous petition he presented to Wolsey and the Privy Council in May 1528, in answer to articles preferred against him for possession of heretical books and Lutheran tendencies in his religious beliefs.¹³⁹

According to Monmouth his first contacts with evangelical religious opinion occurred in the early 1520s when he heard William Tyndale's sermons at St. Dunstan-in-the-West. Monmouth took Tyndale into his house for half

¹³⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/33, fos. 39^v-40^r.

¹³⁸ G. R. Elton, *Policy and Police; the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 171-216, esp. 172-79; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 220-22.

¹³⁹ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I (ii), pp. 363-374; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV, pp. 617-19; *L&P*, IV (ii), pp. 1883-4.

a year, 'and there he lived like a good Priest, as methought. He studied most part of the day and of the night at his book; and he would eat but sodden meat by his good wil, nor drink but small single beer. I never saw him weare linnen about him in the space he was with me. I did promys him £10 sterling, to praie for my father and mother there sowles, and al Christen sowles'.¹⁴⁰ Monmouth insisted that following the dispatch of a further ten pounds he had had no contact with Tyndale, and emphasised the quantities of money he had invested in other, orthodox clerics 'and yf any of those other should chaunce to turn, as that Priest hath done, as God forbid, were I to blame for giving them exhibition?'.¹⁴¹

Monmouth's transgressions lay mainly in his interest in the vernacular scriptures and his connections with William Tyndale and William Roy, whose work of translation he had aided.¹⁴² Indeed, in 1529 and 1530 royal proclamations were issued linking the spread of heresy with the importation of books in English and Latin, and prohibiting a number of works by, or translated by, evangelicals such as Roy, Miles Coverdale, Simon Fish and William Tyndale.¹⁴³ Specifically, it was objected that Monmouth had acquired and read various Lutheran books and other suspect works, notably from Tyndale and Roy in Antwerp, although aware that Luther had been 'condempned an heretyke, and his books, works and opinions, as heretical, detestable, erroneous and dampnable' since April 1521.¹⁴⁴ He had been privy to Tyndale's departure 'to Almayne to Luther, there to study and lerne his sect'. He 'diddest help and ayde them, or

¹⁴⁰ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I (ii), p. 364.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

¹⁴² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 118.

¹⁴³ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations 1485-1603*, I, nos. 122, 129.

¹⁴⁴ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I (i), p. 488.

eyther of them, with mony, or the exhibition thereunto at there departing hense or syns'. The works specifically mentioned in his possession were Luther's *De Libertate Christiana*, and his exposition upon the *Pater Noster*, an English introduction to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which he himself had caused to be printed, and 'certain other works full of errors, translated into English', sent to him by William Tyndale. Furthermore, he had been 'privy and of counsel, of certain detestable books late prynted beyond the sea, in English, against the Sacrament, and all other observances of holy Church, and chiefly against the blessed Sacrament of the Autar, and the observance of the holy Masse'.¹⁴⁵ Admitting ownership of an English translation of Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, an old *Pater Noster*, *De Libertate Christiana* and, perhaps most damning of all, an English New Testament, Monmouth took pains to stress the fact that the volumes had been seen by various members of the clergy, including the Abbess of Denny and the Father Confessor of Sion: 'I never harde priest, nor fryer, nor lay man find any great fault in them', although in *De Libertate* were 'things somewhat hard, except the reader were wyse. And by my faith there was al the fault that ever I herde of them ... but mine accusers unti your noble Grace I think did never read them over; and yf they did, they were to blame, that they had not the order of charity with them'.¹⁴⁶

On hearing Bishop Tunstall preach against Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, Monmouth had burned Tyndale's letters and treatises, together with 'dyvers copies of books my servant did write, and the sermons that the Priest did make at St. Dunstone's', but he stood by the harmless nature of the works; 'I did burne them for fear of the translator, more

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 489-90.

¹⁴⁶ Stype, Ecclesiastical Mem *us* 1(1) pp 35-66

than for any yll that I knew by them'. In answer to the accusations regarding his views on Papal and prelati cal authority, he adduced the evidence of Papal pardons a *poena* and a *culpa* received at Rome, while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He had received a similar pardon from Wolsey himself at St. Paul's, probably in 1525.¹⁴⁷

Yet Monmouth was also accused of holding essentially Lutheran ideas regarding justification by faith alone, the rejection of saint worship and the placing of lights before their images, the unprofitable nature of pilgrimage, confession, fast days and pardons granted by Pope or Bishops. Indeed, he was 'named and reputed to be avancer and a favourer of the said Martyn Luther, his heresies and detestable opinions, and one of the same sect ... that all and singular the premisses be true, notorious, publike, and famous; and upon them reyneth the common voice and fame among good, sadde, and discrete persons, within the Cytie of London, and within other places'. He was forced to abjure forthwith,¹⁴⁸ but even before his death he was regarded as something of an evangelical icon. In 1552 Hugh Latimer remembered a sermon given by the Cambridge evangelical George Stafford¹⁴⁹ before 1530, in which Monmouth was held up as the archetype of the charitable, godly rich man: 'a great rich merchant' he 'began to be a scripture man; he began to smell the gospel', and was reported to the Bishop of London by a poor Catholic neighbour.¹⁵⁰ After his death the evangelical stationer John Gough printed his will, in much the same way as William Tracey's will had circulated in print and manuscript as the ideal

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 366-68; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴⁸ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I (i), pp. 490-91; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV, p. 585.

¹⁴⁹ Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity at Oxford. Admitted to the degree of BD by Robert Barnes: Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 44, 271.

¹⁵⁰ *Sermons by Hugh Latimer*, pp. 440-441.

testament of the evangelical layman.¹⁵¹

Involvement in the underground book trade characterised the activities of the evangelicals among London's rulers in the Henrician period. George Elliot, Grocer, presented a copy of Simon Fish's *Supplicacyon for the Beggars* to the King in 1529. Robert Packington, Mercer, served as a commoner from 1522 until murdered by a gun shot as he walked in Cheapside on 13 November 1536.¹⁵² He was associated in the early 1520s with evangelicals such as Simon Fish, James Bainham and Thomas Cromwell at the Inns of Court,¹⁵³ the evangelical writers generally attributing his death to the malice of the clergy, whose covetousness and cruelty he had denounced in Parliament and about which he 'was thought to have had some talk with the King'.¹⁵⁴ His brother Augustine had helped manipulate Bishop Tunstall in 1529 to gain funds for printing Tyndale's translated New Testament,¹⁵⁵ while Robert himself 'used to bring English bybles from beyond sea',¹⁵⁶ and required Robert Barnes to preach his funeral sermon while leaving a gold ring of remembrance to Edward Crome in the will he prepared a year before his death.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 32; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, I (i), pp. 492-93; I (ii), pp. 368-74; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 511. John Gough was named amongst those suspected of pulling down the famous rood of St. Margaret Pattens in 1538, and was called before the heresy commissioners for infringing the Act of Six Articles in 1541: CLRO, Rep. 10, fo. 34^v; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 448.

¹⁵² Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 59; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 39.

¹⁵³ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 116.

¹⁵⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 250; *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, pp. 296-297.

¹⁵⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV, p. 760; V, p. 250.

¹⁵⁶ 'Religion and Politics in Mid Tudor England: The Recollections of Rose Hickman', ed. M. Dowling and J. Shakespeare, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 55 (1982), p. 97.

¹⁵⁷ PRO, Prob. 11/27, fo. 32^v.

The daughter of Sir William Locke remembered in 1610 'that I have heard my father say that when he was a yong merchant and used to go beyond sea, Queene Anne Boloin ... caused him to get her the gospells and epistles written in parchment in French together with the psalms'. Her mother 'came to some light of the gospell by meanes of some English books sent privately to her by my father's factours from beyond sea', although in the aftermath of Robert Packington's murder the family's scripture reading became rather more covert.¹⁵⁸

The provision of heterodox literature was greatly aided by the favour shown to many of the London evangelicals by Thomas Cromwell and their usefulness to King Henry as he severed England from papal authority. Cromwell's encouragement of the evangelical printer Richard Grafton in the work of translation provided the 'time of liberty' before the enforcement of the Act of Six Articles for the activities of merchants such as Humphrey Monmouth, Robert Packington and Sir William Locke.¹⁵⁹ At the same time, the influence of Queen Anne Boleyn in the mid 1530s seems to have been important to the London evangelicals, at least in the sense that it provided some measure of royal protection for their book-running activities.¹⁶⁰ There is some debate regarding her own religious position, Maria Dowling contending that she was a committed evangelical and Eric Ives arguing that she played a 'major part in pushing Henry into asserting his headship of the church'. R. M. Warnicke and G. W. Bernard have both questioned this position, stressing Catholic elements in Anne's

¹⁵⁸ 'Recollections of Rose Hickman', p. 97.

¹⁵⁹ *Original Letters*, I, p. 217; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 287.

¹⁶⁰ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 127-128, 206, 221-222.

thinking and pointing out her patronage of clerics of impeccable orthodoxy.¹⁶¹ Yet, in the London context, Anne's personal religious convictions were perhaps less important than the patronage she bestowed upon the book-importing merchants. Richard Hilles, writing in 1540, clearly regarded Anne as an evangelical patron of the stature of Cromwell and Hugh Latimer.¹⁶²

In any case, Cromwell's influential patronage survived the fall of Queen Anne. Humphrey Monmouth clearly saw Cromwell's influence as crucial in 1537 if his preferred preachers were to carry out their duties, and the imposition of the royal supremacy provided a platform for the expression of views that would come under attack following the Act of Six Articles. William Locke had first come to the notice of the King in 1534 when he pulled down a copy of the papal bull of excommunication in Dunkirk.¹⁶³ His sons, in partnership with the evangelical merchants Anthony Hickman and Thomas Heton, pursued the same religious course. Locke's daughter Rose married Hickman, who was to become a member of common council at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and after Locke's death in 1550, his son Henry married Anne, elder daughter of the prominent evangelical Stephen Vaughan, himself a client of Thomas Cromwell and financial agent for the Crown. Anne Locke had been brought up in a strongly evangelical household, for her stepmother was the widow of the polemicist Henry Brinklow, and she maintained a correspondence and friendship with John Knox from late

¹⁶¹ M. Dowling, 'Anne Boleyn and Reform', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984), pp. 30-46; 'William Latymer's Cronickille of Anne Bulleyne', ed. D. McCulloch, *Camden Miscellany* 30, *Camden Society* 4th series, 39 (1990); E. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986); R. M. Warnicke, *The Rise and Fall of Anne Boleyn* (Cambridge, 1989); G. W. Bernard, 'Anne Boleyn's Religion', *The Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 1-20.

¹⁶² *Original Letters*, I, p. 204.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

1552.¹⁶⁴ Yet the Lockes had been active evangelicals long since. In November 1544 William Locke, his son Thomas, Thomas Heton and Anthony Hickman signed as joint suretors for the orphanage of Martha, daughter of Otwell Hill, Mercer. One of the most prominent groups of lay evangelicals was clearly operating before the end of Henry's reign, united by their common membership of the Mercers' Company, while both Hickman and Heton left for exile under Mary.¹⁶⁵

Cromwell's influence was not strong enough early in his career to save another of his clients, John Petit, an early lay associate of Frith, Bilney and Tyndale.¹⁶⁶ MP for the City, and commoner from at least 1520 until 1531,¹⁶⁷ Petit may have been partly responsible, in his capacity as warden of the Grocers' Company, for the installation of Dr. Robert Forman at All Hallows Honey Lane.¹⁶⁸ Forman was discovered supplying heretical literature of the sort imported by Robert Packington for the evangelicals at Cambridge, and was compelled to abjure his opinions under Bishop Stokesley in 1528.¹⁶⁹ Petit himself died from illness contracted while imprisoned in the Tower in 1531, suspected of responsibility for printing evangelical works.¹⁷⁰

However, the imposition of a new orthodoxy regarding the Pope gave

¹⁶⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Role of Women in the English Reformation illustrated by the Life and Friendships of Anne Locke', in G. J. Cumming (ed.), *Studies in Church History* 2 (London, 1965), pp. 258-272.

¹⁶⁵ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 125^r; C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles, A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 182-183 (Thomas Heton).

¹⁶⁶ *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, pp. 7, 14, 25-27.

¹⁶⁷ CLRO, Rep. 8, fo. 241: letter of Cromwell to Lord Mayor and aldermen of London in favour of the widow of John Petit, Grocer, deceased. Dated 10 October 1538.

¹⁶⁸ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, p. 42.

¹⁷⁰ *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 25; PRO, Prob. 11/24, fos. 167^v-168^r.

the evangelicals some scope, not only for expounding their own religion, but for attacking conservatives who overstepped the mark in criticism of the new dispensation. In 1535 Thomas Corthorp, curate of Harwich, was arraigned for various offences, stemming from the fact that he 'did leve the name of the Pope and other titles of his pomp and glorious advancement yet ayen vnraised out of the mas bokes and other bokes within his cuer of Haryche'.¹⁷¹ Corthorp might have escaped the notice of the authorities had he not delivered a sermon on 15 August 1535 at St. Mary of Bethlehem outside Bishopsgate, London:

where he said in the pulpet that these neue prechers nowe a dayes that doth preache ij or iij sermons in a daye haue made and brought in suche divisions and sedicions among vs as neuer was sene in this realme, for the devill rayneth ouer vs nowe...¹⁷²

It was Corthorp's misfortune that his words were heard by, among others, William Carkke and Common Councilman George Elliot,¹⁷³ who reported him to the authorities, but a more implacable foe proved to be Thomas Bacon, soon to gain election to common council. He, with evangelicals from Harwich reported a conversation held three days later, in which Corthorp again expressed his aversion to the royal proceedings. Bacon 'like a

¹⁷¹ PRO, SP 1/99, fo. 200^v.

¹⁷² Ibid., fo. 201^v.

¹⁷³ In January 1549 Elliot requested that his burial be performed '... without any manner of pompe or pride of this worlde, and that there be not bestowed vpon the same, that is to saie in singing and singinge prestes, clarkes and other things aboue the some of xx. s. sterling over and besides my grave, and at my saide buriall I will haue the last bell ronge one howre for me at the time of my exequies'. This represented a considerable paring down of the traditional forms, particularly the requirement that the bell ring for only one hour, although the evangelicals had no monopoly on the desire for no 'pompe or pride'. The evangelical significance of these provisions in Elliot's case are suggested by his own previous actions, and the fact that he made his 'trusty and welbeloued frende' William Pierson, apprentice of William Carkke, an overseer to the will. Furthermore, one of his executors was John Sparke, Grocer, who would be arrested in 1554 'for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries': PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 137^{r-v}; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 561.

ffaithefull subiect defended the ordre of preaching apoynted by our soveraigne lord the king', to which Corthorp replied 'Well, this preaching will last but a whyle for I trust to see the daye, and that shortly, that we shalle preache as we haue don, for all this bragge'. The curate made no secret of the object of his enmity: 'alle this devysyon comyth thugh that ffalse knave, that heretike, Doctour Barns, and suche other heretiks as he ys'.¹⁷⁴ Bacon, along with others present on that occasion reported Corthorp's words, but it seems possible that Bacon's defence of the evangelical preachers had been intended to draw Corthorp into condemning himself out of his own mouth.

The parish of St. Magnus by London Bridge was home to a small but influential group of evangelicals in the 1540s. John Sturgeon, Haberdasher, was a common councilman 1529-48 and held the office of Chamberlain of London 1550-1563. He was brought before the royal heresy commission, appointed on 29 January 1541, to enforce the penalties of the Act of Six Articles, alongside his fellow parishioner Ralph Clarvaux and his wife. Clarvaux, who was to be elected to common council in 1552, held to his convictions: in 1548 he moved faster than the Edwardian authorities would allow, and stood surety with Batholomew Gibbes for several parishioners of St. Leonard Eastcheap, in order that they 'reedefie and buyld agein suche & so menyne alteres within the seyd paryshe churche' that they had taken down in advance of orders authorising such action from the Crown.¹⁷⁵ George Tadlowe, Haberdasher, of the same parish, witnessed the

¹⁷⁴ PRO, SP 1/99, fo. 202^r.

¹⁷⁵ CLRO, Rep. 12, fo. 2^v; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, pp. 440, 444. Clarvaux provided for an annual stipend of 5 shillings 'towards the ffyndinge of one poor mane's childe at Saynte Nicholas hospitall in Cambridge at lernynge I meane to be a preacher of Gode's worde', and appointed James Bannister, shoemaker, and John Starkey, Fletcher, of the same parish, two of his overseers: GL MS. 9171/13, fos. 121^v-122^r, will dated 2 August 1551, proved 9 July 1557. Bannister and Starkey came before the heresy commission at the same time as Clarvaux: Foxe, *Loc. Cit.*

will of John Purser, patronised interludes critical of the religious authorities in 1543, and although he avoided indictment under the Act of Six Articles, was an associate of Richard Grafton.¹⁷⁶ Richard Turke, one of only two evangelicals elected to the court of aldermen in the last years of Henry, himself lived and died in the parish of St. Magnus.

Some of the evangelicals were commoners of prominence. John Sturgeon, Robert Packington and George Tadolowe were among those appointed to wait upon the High Butler of the King at Anne Boleyn's coronation feast in 1533,¹⁷⁷ while William Robins was head juror at the trial which irritated Bishop Bonner by failing to find anything heretical in the opinions of the 15 year old Richard Mekins in July 1541.¹⁷⁸ Sheriff William Wilkinson, whether or not he held evangelical opinions himself, demonstrated some sympathy for them. When Thomas Freebarn was to be set in the stocks for denying various elements of the religious orthodoxy in 1539, Cromwell's intercession to the lord mayor failed to free him. Yet to Freebarn's wife, Wilkinson replied 'O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no', and declared that had the mayor imprisoned Freebarn in the compter over which he had jurisdiction 'he should not have tarried there an hour', and introduced Mrs. Freebarn to some of his acquaintances in order to present her case.¹⁷⁹ Wilkinson himself was a parishioner of St. Antholin's, and both William Tolwin and William Carkke witnessed the will

¹⁷⁶ CLRO, Rep. 10, fo. 323^r; J. A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton, Citizen and Grocer of London* (London, 1901), pp. 40-41, 50-52.

¹⁷⁷ CLRO, Rep. 9, fo. 2^r.

¹⁷⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, V, pp. 441-2.

¹⁷⁹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 300; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* V, p. 823.

he made in April 1543.¹⁸⁰

Other evangelical rulers are rather more obscure to us. Common Councilman Christopher Dray, Plumber, was accused of denying the Real Presence in 1539, yet lived to reveal the persistence of his evangelical opinions in his will of 1551. He willed that three sermons be made in his parish church of St. Bride's Fleet Street, two to be given by the vicar there, one by John Rogers, vicar of St. Sepulchre, Newgate. John Rogers, the first to be burned as a martyr under Mary, had compiled the English Matthew Bible, and served as preacher to the merchant adventurers in Antwerp. The vicar of St. Bride's was John Cardmaker, who, like his parishioner, denied the Real Presence in the mass which he regarded as idolatry:

This same day Cardmaker sayd opynly in hys lector in Powlles that if God ware a man he was a vj. or vij. foote of lengthe, with the bredth, and if it be soo how canne it be that he shuld be in a pesse of brede in a rownde cake on the awter: what an ironynos oppynyone is this unto the leye pepulle!

Dray, clearly, did not share the chronicler's scandalised opinion.¹⁸¹ Thomas Geoffrey, Dyer, member of common council in the mid 1520s, found himself forced to abjure heresy under Henry, as did Robert Wigge, who would be elected to common council in 1553.¹⁸²

Richard Hilles, however, is the best documented of these early evangelicals whose career in City government yet lay in the future. His parents lived on London Bridge, near the parish of St. Magnus, and he wrote to Cromwell in January 1533, imploring his aid after his master Nicholas

¹⁸⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/29, fo. 214.

¹⁸¹ PRO, SP 1/243, fo. 75^r; GL MS. 9171/12, fos. 84^v-85^v; Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 110, 193-194, 227; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* V, p. 448; VI, pp. 609-611; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 63.

¹⁸² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, IV, 585-6.

Cossin, Merchant Taylor had cut off his funds:

And yt pleased God, I do hartely thanke hym, to gyve me some knolege off hys son Jesus Cryste. Insomoche that, on a certayne Sunday at after noone, when I was idell, I thought that I wolde (accordyng to the poore talent that God had gyven me) goo about some good thyng to keepe me from idellnes. And then I remembryd how that a good honest yong man dyd ones requyre me to shew hym my mynde in wrytyng how I did vnderstand that part of sancte James' pystell that sayde how Abraham was justyffed by workes ... as ye see in thys treatyse that I have sent your mastershype.¹⁸³

Youths, and especially apprentices, were regarded as peculiarly likely to fall into the snares of heresy, and this represented an added burden to the master responsible, *in loco parentis*, for his spiritual and physical wellbeing.¹⁸⁴ Hilles' tract on justification by works came into the hands of the Bishop of London while Hilles himself was in Flanders over Christmas 1531. Cossin soon followed him, and undertook to repair the damage done by his apostasy:

... because he was lothe to forsake my servyce he wepte vnto me, and exhortyd me to revoke, ye, and causyd an honest merchant besyde hymselffe to have me in examynacyon beffore them bothe. And they askyd me iff I thought mysellffe wyser than all other men, & I answered that I cowntyd mysellffe alltogyther nought, & the worde off God to be very truthe ... and thys passed on, they callyd me three or iiij tymes beffore them agayne, somtyme callyng me opynatyffe, & somtyme saying "we can not see, but that any off ye all will revoke rather than to dye" ... And another tyme they layde many wordly [sic] raysons agenste me, & with every one offe them myghte the Jewes have condempnyd Cryste & his apostells ffor heretykes, yff thei wer true argumentes.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ PRO, SP 1/74, fo. 107^v.

¹⁸⁴ Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', pp. 37-67. Hilles himself took on this role seven years later when resident in Strasburg, warning his servant, who wished to return to England, of 'the wickedness of falling away from the on any ground of supersition'. Hilles could not prevent his servant from attending masses for the dead 'on every feast-day through almost the whole Autumn': *Original Letters*, I, pp. 217-218.

¹⁸⁵ PRO SP 1/74, fos. 107^v-108^r.

Cossin ultimately offered his apprentice the choice of returning to the faith, or of having his financial support withdrawn.

Well, quod my master, I haue a ffrynde that wyll sende the to one at Parys, a Doctor off Dyvynyte, wyche wyll laye the matter so playnly affore the that thou shalte say "peccavi", & in conclusion he sayd that he wolde not ffor £100 to helpe me with one penny ffor ffeare off the byshopes.¹⁸⁶

Hilles has left considerably more evidence of his religious beliefs than any of the sixteenth century merchant class of London. A series of his letters to the great Swiss Reformer Heinrich Bullinger survives from 1540 to the proclamation of Jane Gray as Queen in July 1553, while letters from his servant to Bullinger mention his apostasy under Mary in 1554.¹⁸⁷

Yet in the 1530s and 1540s Hilles was still a relatively obscure journeyman. While some of the more prominent commoners, and even a few aldermen, held evangelical religious beliefs, they were few in number, far from dominating the ruling group of London by the time the young protestant Edward VI succeeded his father in January 1547.

Proportions of Catholics and Evangelicals in London's Henrician Ruling Elite

Of the 465 individuals identified here as rulers of the Henrician City of London, 346, or 75% have left surviving wills. Over half of these contain distinctively Catholic forms of pious bequests, leaving aside preamble forms and other indicators of religious belief. This figure, however, is misleading, since many of the wills were made during periods of official hostility to the traditional forms of pious expression. Significantly, 80% of the 194 wills made by the rulers between 1520 and the

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 108^r.

¹⁸⁷ *Original Letters*, I, pp. 196-275.

legislative beginnings of the Edwardian Reformation, when the Chantries Act came into force on 21 December 1547, contain distinctively Catholic religious bequests. From then until the restoration of the Mass on 20 December 1553, there is a sharp drop, although just over 16% of the Edwardian wills reflect an explicitly Catholic style of piety. The Marian period, considered here as ending in April 1559 with the passage of the package of parliamentary legislation forming the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy and Uniformity, saw over 41% of élite testators invest in such bequests. After the Elizabethan religious legislation of April 1559 only 5% of the wills display clear signs of overt Catholic piety. The effects of the religious changes upon the testamentary material may be judged from the fact that 73% of the wills of the Henrician rulers date from periods of Catholic rule. 71% of these contain some form of Catholic pious provision. Even in the Edwardian and Elizabethan periods, 12% of testators contrived to make some form of Catholic bequest. Table 2 summarises the incidence of Catholic bequests in the wills of the Henrician rulers, divided into the periods suggested above.

Table Two: Catholic Bequests in the Wills of the Henrician Rulers of London

	1520-1547	1547-1553	1553-1559	1559 onwards	Totals
No. of Rulers' Wills Extant	194	55	58	39	346
No. of Rulers' Wills with Catholic Bequests	155	9	24	2	190
% of Rulers' Wills with Catholic Bequests	80%	16.3%	41.3%	5%	55%
No. of Aldermen's Wills Extant	49	8	13	4	74
No. of Aldermen's Wills with Catholic Bequests	43	2	5	1	51
% of Aldermen's Wills with Catholic Bequests	88%	25%	38.5%	25%	68.96%
Number of Commoners' Wills Extant	145	47	45	35	272
No. of Commoners' Wills with Catholic Bequests	102	7	19	1	139
% of Commoners' Wills with Catholic Bequests	70.5%	15%	42%	3%	51.02%

It is clear that, in general, the aldermen invested more heavily than the commoners in testamentary piety, although their caution is evident in the Marian period. As far as their wills are concerned, the survival rate is high, standing at 92.5%. While the total proportion of these wills which contain Catholic pious bequests is 69%, it is suggestive that of the 49 drawn up before the Chantries Act of December 1547 was passed, some 88% contain such bequests. The commoners present a slightly different picture, partly because of a lower testamentary survival rate of 70.5%. The samples of commoners compiled for the periods 1524-26, 34-36 and 44-46 give a total of 385 individuals, including those briefly elected aldermen but who occupied the rank for too short a time to perform in that capacity. 272 wills survive for the Henrician commoners, 51% of which contain Catholic

bequests. 200, or 51% of the 385 Henrician commoners can be identified with certainty as Catholic, although this total rises to 53% if uncertain cases are taken into account. However, wills survive for only 75% of the rulers as a body, and a significant proportion of them are unhelpful in determining the religious inclinations of the testator. This problem becomes more acute as religious change gradually narrowed the range of bequests open to the Catholic testator, while, as we have seen above, testamentary evidence for evangelical belief is rather harder to isolate in terms of specific bequests. At the same time, while wills are extant for 75% of the Henrician rulers, clear evidence of the *direction* of their religious beliefs can be cited for just over 65% of them, including uncertain cases. Table 3, therefore, summarises the dimensions of religious allegiance among all the Henrician rulers as suggested by a survey of all the available source material. A distinction is drawn between, for example, the proportion of rulers known to have demonstrated a Catholic style of piety, or who may have done so, and the proportion of this group in relation to the number of rulers for whom any evidence of religious allegiance actually exists.

Table Three: Religious Profile of Henrician Rulers of London

Total Rulers: 465

Rulers of Known Religious Allegiance: 308

Proportion of Rulers of Known Religious Allegiance: 66.22%

Religious Affiliations	Number of Rulers	% of All Rulers	% of All Rulers of Known Religious Affiliations
Catholic	260	55.86%	84.74%
Catholic?	18	3.88%	5.84%
Evangelical	23	4.94%	7.46%
Evangelical?	7	1.5%	2.28%

These figures again emphasise the general conservatism of the rulers,

although it is clear a substantial number have left no unambiguous evidence for their religious beliefs. The evangelical presence is small, with 5% of the rulers identified for certain as evangelicals. Including uncertain cases, they still represent just over 6% of the ruling group. Taking only the rulers for whom some evidence of religious allegiance has been found, the evangelicals still represent under 10% of London's élite.

However, the evidence of the wills suggests some religious differentiation within the ruling group. It is clear that the aldermen, on average older and wealthier than the commoners, present a rather more conservative picture. Indeed, with the exception of Humphrey Monmouth, no evangelicals were elected to the court of aldermen until William Locke and Richard Turke took up their seats in 1545 and 1546 respectively. Rowland Hill, elected in 1542, may have held reforming sympathies, but it is far from clear that he was himself an evangelical.¹⁸⁸ The great majority of the aldermen appear traditionally Catholic in religion, and this is demonstrable by extracting the aldermen from the data summarised in Table 3. Eighty men served as alderman during Henry VIII's reign, excluding those such as Richard Farmer who fined out of office almost as soon as they had been elected. Table 4 represents the known religious composition of these 80 aldermen. Over 75% of them were certainly Catholic, or over 82% including uncertain cases. The evangelical aldermen constitute under 4% of the total, or 5% if Sir Rowland Hill is considered an evangelical.

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 4.

Table Four: Religious Profile of Henrician Aldermen

Total Aldermen: 80

Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 70

Proportion of Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 87.5%

Religious Affiliations	Number of Aldermen	% of Aldermen	% Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance
Catholic	60	75.18%	85.45%
Catholic?	6	7.5%	8.56%
Evangelical	3	3.74%	4.28%
Evangelical?	1	1.26%	1.42%

Taking the commoners as a body, we find a higher proportion for whom no evidence of religious allegiance has been located, while the absolute numbers of evangelicals is somewhat higher than among the aldermen. Thus 20 have been identified as evangelical, while a further 6 may have held such opinions. This still represents only 5-6% of the whole body of common councillors, while the Catholics represent at least 52% of the total, and over 85% of all the commoners for whom we have evidence of religious allegiance.

Table Five: Religious Profile of Henrician Commoners

Total Commoners: 385

Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 240

Proportion of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 62.5%

Religious Affiliations	Number of Commoners	% All Commoners	% All Commoners of Known Religious Affiliations
Catholic	202	52.36%	84.04%
Catholic?	12	3.12%	5%
Evangelical	20	5.2%	8.34%
Evangelical?	6	1.56%	2.5%

If, however, the commoners are analysed in terms of the three decadal samples, it is possible to discern a shift in their religious composition over the period of Henry's reign. The proportion of Catholics and

evangelicals in the samples have been summarised in Table 6.

**Table Six: Religious Profile of Henrician Commoners
by Decadal Samples**

	1524-1526		1534-1536		1544-1546	
	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religion	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religion	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religion
Catholic	61.72%	92.6%	45.46%	78.74%	27.24%	64.1%
Catholic?	1.86%	2.8%	5.82%	10.1%	4.84%	11.42%
Evangelical	2.34%	3.5%	4.24%	7.34%	8.48%	20%
Evangelical?	0.94%	1.4%	2.12%	3.66%	1.82%	4.28%
Total Commoners	214		189		165	
% Commoners of Known Relig. Allegiance	66.66%		57.8%		42.38%	

Table 6 demonstrates an impressive rate of evangelical penetration of the ruling elite in a period when the regime remained fundamentally Catholic. Although the proportion of commoners for whom evidence of religious allegiance decreases by half by the 1544-46 sample, Catholicism held the loyalty of 64% of those for whom we have sufficient evidence. At the same time the gradual rise in the absolute number of evangelicals is clear. It must be emphasised however, that the diminishing opportunities for Catholics to make testamentary provisions of characteristically Catholic form, particularly after 1547, may artificially increase the *percentage* figures for the representation of evangelicals within the group for whom evidence of religious allegiance survives. This is especially important for the 1544-46 sample, since many of the commoners serving at this time made their wills in a period of rapid religious change when caution in declaring religious inclinations in the testamentary context was a widespread strategy.

In the mid 1520s evangelical religion in London's elite was located solely within the common council. By the mid 1530s Humphrey Monmouth was the sole evangelical alderman, although eight, and perhaps as many as twelve of his contemporaries in common council, shared his views. Nor did the 1540s see an evangelical breakthrough into the ranks of the aldermen; only two evangelicals had certainly reached the court by this time, and there is evidence for significant religious activity in the Henrician period for just one of them, Sir William Locke. This left the Edwardian government faced with an aldermannic class of overwhelmingly conservative religious views, even though perhaps 10% of the rulers as a whole may have held evangelical opinions by the beginning of Edward's reign. Not until the first decade of Elizabeth's reign did evangelicals, or, by that date, protestants, reach the court of aldermen in any number. Most of those had begun their careers in City government under Edward VI, and some had suffered exile in Mary's reign.

Yet in the 1540s, however divisive religion may have been, among the rulers a basic unity was preserved. Humphrey Monmouth's father in law was the Catholic alderman William Denham, while the sacramentary views of Christopher Dray did not prevent the Merchant Taylors from employing him to mend their roof at the same time as they were enumerating their obituary obligations.¹⁸⁹

In 1542 Richard Hilles wrote to Bullinger of the reactions of his London neighbours in the period from the execution of Anne Boleyn in 1536 until his departure to Strasburg in 1539. Some of them decried his refusal to give the customary sum for placing large lights before the rood and the easter sepulchre. Hilles was threatened with being reported to the Bishop of London, while the parishioners put pressure on him to conform through

¹⁸⁹ GL, MF. 298 4, fo. 6^v.

his parents and friends. In the wake of the 1538 Injunctions the Churchwardens called him before them 'and inquired of me in the church, whether I still continued obstinate in my purpose against the King's majesty's injunctions'. Arguing that he had never attempted to remove the lights from the church, the churchwardens made a revealing reply: 'you tell us that you do not attempt to remove the holy lights from our churches, when yet you endeavour by your example to draw, if they dared, all men after you, (especially foolish boys, and young men like yourself;) refusing to do what your own and your wife's parents, grave and prudent persons, and what all your honest neighbours, do not disdain to do'. The heretic thus posed a serious threat to the religious community of the parish, yet that community was in some ways the ideal setting for the activities of a zealous evangelical. In 1539 Bishop Gardiner of Winchester examined suspected persons from London Bridge, including some of Hilles' neighbours; 'was not Richard Hilles every day at your house, teaching you and others like you?'. As Hilles reported to Bullinger, 'my most bitter enemies, who were men of wealth, were unwilling openly to inform against me of their own accord, in compliance with the last injunction of the King, and to be regarded in the sight of all as guilty of treachery against their neighbours'.¹⁹⁰

Such social ties transcended the boundaries of parish and ward in the society provided by the City Companies. Near the end of Edward VI's reign Hilles wrote of Sir George Barne as 'my faithful and very dear friend', yet Barne himself seems to have been Catholic, at least under Mary.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ *Original Letters*, I. pp. 232-233.

¹⁹¹ *Original Letters*, I, p. 272. In February 1558 Barne linked his almsgiving closely with the Catholic liturgy, providing bread to be distributed to the poor after mass from an altar in front of the pillar upon which his epitaph was set up. He also endowed a weekly income in perpetuity to the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, to provide holy bread in the church: PRO, PROB. 11/40, fo. 100.

Common Councilman Robert Meredith, Mercer, of the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry, demonstrated this unity when he employed William Carkke to write his will in December 1546. He left gold rings 'for a godly monument and remembraunce, and to pray for my soule' to beneficiaries who included the well-known evangelicals William Locke, Thomas Locke and his wife, Matthew Locke, John Cosworth, Thomas Stacey, and the future Marian exiles Anthony Hickman, Thomas Nicholls and Richard Springham. He chose for executors William Locke, Nicholls and Springham, and left the education and upbringing of his children in the hands of the latter two, yet he left a silver standing cup to 'my singular good lord' Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Wriothesley, a notorious religious conservative, to secure his favour for Meredith's wife and children in the execution of the will.¹⁹² His friends in the Mercers' Company may have been evangelicals, but Meredith could not abandon his faith in the power of prayers for the dead.

¹⁹² PRO, PROB. 11/31, fos. 205^v-207^r.

Appendix One: Aldermen and Common Councillors of London 1520-1547

F R KEY T WILL BE UES S SEE PP 61 3

Aldermen 1520-47									
NAME	A DE	AN	MAY	ALTY	W LL	W LL BEQUES S			
Sir Roger Acheley, Draper	1504-21	1511-12	1515	P1					C?
Robert Aldernes, Haberdasher	1511-21		NW						
Sir John Allen, Mercer	1515-45	1525-26	1545	P2		C D	F	H	C
Ralph Allen, Grocer	1534, 36, 38-47		1543	P3					
Robert Amadas, Goldsmith	1523-32		1531	P1	A B	D E			C
Sir Henry Amcotts, Fishmonger	1536-54	1548-49	1554	P1	A				C
Sir Christopher Askewe, Draper	1524-39	1533-34	1535	P1	A	D	F		C
Sir Lawrence Aylmer, Draper	1504-24	1508	NW						
Sir William Bailey, Draper	1514-32	1524-25	1532	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir Thomas Baldry, Mercer	1514-34	1523-24	1534	P1	A B C D E				C
Sir George Barne, Haberdasher	1542-58	1552-53	1558	P2	D				C
Roger Basford, Mercer	1510-20		1518	P1	A C D E				C
Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith	1536-66	1545-46	1565	P2	D		H	+	C
Sir William Bowyer, Draper	1534-44	1543-44	1544	P1	A C				C
John Bradwell, Prior of Holy Trinity	1512-24		NW						C
John Brown, Haberdasher	1523-27		1532	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir John Brugge, Draper	1510-30	1520-21	1530	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir William Butler, Grocer	1507-34	1515-16	1528	P1	A B C D E		H		C
John Cawnton, Haberdasher	1523-28		NW						
Walter Champion, Draper	1532-34		1534	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir John Champneys, Skinner	1527-56	1534-35	1556	*					C
Robert Chertsey, Mercer	1545-51		1555	P4	D				C
Richard Choppyn, Grocer	1532-36		1536	P1	A C D	F			C
Sir John Cotes, Salter	1534-47	1542-43	1547	P4	A C D				C
Henry Dacres, Merchant Taylor	1526-28		1537	P1	A C D				C
William Dauntsey, Mercer	1536-43		1543	P4	A C D	F			C
William Denham, Ironmonger	1531-42		1544	--	A C				C
Sir Richard Dobbes, Skinner	1542-56	1551-52	1558	P1	C				C
Sir Ralph Dodner, Mercer	1521-36	1529-30	1536	P1					C?
Sir Michael Dormer, Mercer	1531-45	1541-42	1545	P1	A D				C
Michael English, Mercer	1520-31		1527	P1	B D E				C
Sir Thomas Exmewe, Goldsmith	1508-29	1517-18	1529	P1	A C D E F				C
Robert Fenrother, Goldsmith	1511-24	1512-13	1524	P1	A C D				C
Sir William Forman, Haberdasher	1529-47	1538-39	1545	P4					
Richard Gerveys, Mercer	1543-53		1555	P4					
Henry Goodyear, Leatherseller	1546-49		1556	P3				+	C?
Sir John Gresham, Mercer	1540-56	1547-48	1554	P4	D				C
Sir Richard Gresham, Mercer	1536-49	1537-38	1549	P3				+	C
Nicholas Hancock, Prior Holy Trinity	1524-32		NW					+	C
John Hardy, Haberdasher	1524-35		1540	P1				+	C?
Sir Rowland Hill, Mercer	1542-61	1549-50	1560	P4				+	P?
Sir William Holles, Mercer	1528-42	1539-40	1541	P1	A C D			+	C
Sir Henry Huberthorn, Merchant Taylor	1536-56	1546-47	1556	P4					
Augustine Hynde, Clothworker	1546-54		1554	P3(4)					
Nicholas Jenyns, Skinner	1523, 26-29		1531	P1	A B C E				C
Sir Stephen Jenyns, Merchant Taylor	1499-1523	1508-09	1522	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir Andrew Judde, Skinner	1541-58	1550-51	1558	P1					C?
Sir Thomas Kitson, Mercer	1534-40		1540	--	A				C
John Kyme, Mercer	1519-28		NW						
Sir Nicholas Lambert, Grocer	1523-33	1531-32	1528	P1	A B E				C
Sir William Laxton, Grocer	1536-56	1544-45	1556	P2				+	C
Thomas Lewen, Ironmonger	1539-46		1554	P1	A C D E F	H			C
Sir William Locke, Mercer	1545-50		1550	P4				+	P
John Long, Salter	1524, 28-38		1537	P1	A B C D E				C
Sir John Milborne, Draper	1510-36	1521-22	1535	P1	A B C D E F				C
Sir Thomas Mirfyn, Skinner	1509-23	1518-19	1523	P1	A B C D E				C
Humphrey Monmouth, Draper	1534-37		1537	P4			G H	+	P
Sir George Monoux, Draper	1507-41	1514-15*	1541	P3	C				C
Sir John Mundy, Goldsmith	1513-37	1522-23	1537	P1	A C E F				C
Robert Paget, Merchant Taylor	1532-41		1541	P4	C F	H			C
Sir Thomas Pargeter, Salter	1528-32	1530-31	1530	P1	A B C D E				C
Nicholas Partridge, Grocer	1517-25		1525	P1	A B C D E				C
Sir Stephen Peacock, Haberdasher	1524-36	1532-33	1536	P1	A C D E F				C
Richard Reed, Salter	1544-46		1550	P3			G		
Sir John Rest, Grocer	1508-23	1516-17	1523	P1	A B C E				C
Sir William Roche, Draper	1530-49	1540-41	1549	P3	C				C

NAME	ALDE MANN ER E MA A	W L DATE	WILL REQUESTS
Sir John Rudstone, Draper	1521-31 1528-29	1531 P1	A B C E F C
John Sadler, Draper	1538-47	1559 P1	+ C
Sir Thomas Seymour, Mercer	1515-35 1526-27	1533 P1	C E F C
Ralph Simmonds, Fishmonger	1516, 26, 33-34	1541 P4	A C
Sir John Skevington, Merchant Taylor	1521-25	1524 P1	C D E C
Sir James Spencer, Vintner	1516-44 1527-28	1544 P4	A B C D C
John Tolos, Clothworker	1538-48	1548 P4	D C
Richard Turke, Fishmonger	1546-52	1552 P4	H P
Sir Ralph Warren, Mercer	1528-53 1536-37*	1552 P1	C
Sir Thomas White, Merchant Taylor	1544-67 1553-54	1566 P3	+ C
John Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1538-50	1551 P4	+ C?
John Wilkinson, Draper	1517-21	1521 P1	A B C D E C
Henry Worley, Goldsmith	1511-24	1524 P1	A B C D E C
Sir James Yarford, Mercer	1509-27 1519-20	1527 P1	A D C D E F C

Common Councillors 1524-26

NAME	W L DATE	W L L REQUESTS
Hugh Acton, Merchant Taylor	1530 P2	A C D E F C
Thomas Addington, Skinner	1543 P3	C C
Ralph Allen, Grocer	1543 P3	
Thomas Allen, Skinner	1523 P1	A B C D E C
John Althorp	NW	
Christopher Askewe, Draper	1535 P1	A D F C
Richard Austen	NW	
Robert Bailey, Mercer	NW	
--- Baker	NW	
Robert Barker, Vintner	1539 P1	+ C
John Barnard, Mercer	NW	
Humphrey Barnes, Ironmonger	1540 P1	A C C
William Barnes, Mercer	NW	
Robert Baxter, Haberdasher (1536)	1543 P4	A C C
Henry Bayford, Merchant Taylor	NW	
Richard Bedell	NW	
John Bennet, Haberdasher	1559 P1	C
William Bodley, Grocer	1539 P1	F C
William Botrey, Mercer	1535 P1	C F C
John Bowyer, Mercer	1531 P1	F C
Robert Brickett, Brewer	1537 P1	A C D E F C
William Brockett, Goldsmith	1536 P1	A B C E F C
William Brokes, Goldsmith	NW	
William Bromwell, Mercer	1536 P1	A B C D F C
William Brothers, Draper	1545 P4	A C D F G C
Lawrence Brown, Vintner	1527 P1	C D E F C
Richard Buckland, Merchant Taylor	1558 P1	A C
Nicholas Bull, Goldsmith	1554 P4	
Thomas Burnell, Mercer	1548 P1	C C
Richard Callard, Painter Stainer	NW	
Thomas Calton, Goldsmith	NW	
William Campion, Grocer	1530 P1	C F C
Thomas Carter, Draper	1530 P1	A C D F C
William Cauntwell, Fruiterer	1540 P1	A C D C
Walter Champion, Draper	1534 P1	A B C D E F C
John Champneys, Skinner	1556 *	C
Thomas Cheverall, Haberdasher	NW	
Richard Choppyn, Tallowchandler	1536 P1	A C D F C
Oliver Claymond, Clothworker	1539 P3	D C
John Clerk, Draper	1549 P2	C C
William Clerk, Vintner	1526 P1	A B C D F C
Henry Clitherowe, Merchant Taylor	1545 P4	
Hugh Clopton, Mercer	1522 P1	A C C
John Cole, Merchant Taylor	NW	
Thomas Cole, Merchant Taylor	1556 P3	
Thomas Collins, Salter (1536)	1536 P1	A C D E C
John Conway, Smith	1549 P1	C
Thomas Cony, Fletcher	1527 P1	A C E F C
Richard Corbett, Clothworker	NW	
John Cotes, Salter	1547 P4	A C D C
Vincent Coxon, Skinner	1541 P4	A C
John Creke, Merchant Taylor	NW	+ C
Thomas Cremour, Draper	1526 P1	A C D E F C
Thomas Croppe, Haberdasher	1531 P1	A B C E F C

NAME	W LL DA	W LL BEQUES
Thomas Curle, Grocer	1539 P1	C D F C
Henry Dacres, Merchant Taylor	1537 P1	A C D C
John Dane	NW	
William Dauntsey, Mercer	1543 P4	A C D F C
Thomas Davy, Skinner	NW	
John Dawbeney, Vintner	NW	
Roger Deal, Draper	1535 P1	A C F C
William Denham, Ironmonger	1544 --	A C C
Benjamin Digby, Mercer	1528 P3	
William Dolphin, Draper	1557 P1	A C
Michael Dormer, Mercer	1545 P1	A D C
Ellis Draper, Haberdasher	1527 P1	A C D E F C
William Duckett, Grocer	1530 P1	C C
Adam English	NW	
Andrew Evinger, Salter	1526 P1	A C E C
Richard Farmer, Grocer (1535)	1551 P1	+ C
William Fernley, Mercer	NW	
William Forman, Haberdasher	1545 P4	
Thomas Gale, Haberdasher	NW	
John Garrard, Draper	1534 P1	C D C
Robert Gedge, Mercer	1529 P1	C C
Thomas Geoffrey, Dyer	NW	
Nicholas Gibson, Grocer (1534)	1540 P3	
Richard Gibson, Merchant Taylor	1534 P1	C C
William Gibson, Merchant Taylor	1538 P1	C C
Richard Gittens, Vintner	1525 P1	A C C
William Gonson, Grocer	NW	
Richard Gresham, Mercer	1549 P3	+ C
William Gresham, Mercer	1548 P4	
Thomas Gunderby, Skinner	NW	
John Gunne, Merchant Taylor	1528 P1	A B C D E F C
John Hall, Grocer	1529 P1	E C
William Hampton, Skinner	1528 P1	A C D E F C
Richard Hanchett, Skinner	1526 P1	A B C D E F C
Thomas Hanchett, Skinner	NW	
John Hansard, Skinner	1527 P1	C D F C
John Hardy, Haberdasher	1540 P1	C?
William Hayes, Goldsmith	1529 P1	A B C E C
Thomas Heton, Haberdasher	1530 P1	A C C
Richard Hilton, Vintner	1539 P1	A B C C
William Holles, Mercer	1541 P1	A C D + C
Richard Holte, Merchant Taylor	1550 P3	
John Hone, Tallowchandler	1534 P1	A B C D E C
William Honning, Fishmonger	1543 P1	A C
Henry Huberthorn, Merchant Taylor	1556 P4	
Edmund Hudson, Brewer	1528 P1	A C D F C
Gerrard Hughes, Goldsmith	NW	
John Hughes, Mercer	NW	
John Hussey, Vintner	1549 P3	C C
Thomas Hyde, Mercer	1529 P1	A C E C
Bernard Jenyns, Skinner	1551 P5	C G C
Nicholas Jenyns, Skinner	1531 P1	A B C E C
John Jerrard, Merchant Taylor	1544 P1	A C D C
John Johnson, Skinner	1548 P3	
Leonard Johnson, Stockfishmonger	1542 P1	C?
Andrew Judde, Skinner	1558 P1	C?
Henry Keble, Vintner	NW	
Edmund Kemp, Mercer	1542 P1	D F C
Alan King, Vintner	1544 P1	A C C
William Kirkeley, Clothworker	NW	
Thomas Kitson, Mercer	1540 --	A C
Thomas Knight, Brewer	1545 P4	D C
Oliver Leder, Fishmonger	1554 P2	+ C
Thomas Lee, Merchant Taylor	1527 P1	A B C E C
William Locke, Mercer	1550 P4	+ P
John Long, Salter	1537 P1	A B C D E C
Stephen Lunne, Haberdasher	1528 P2	A C E F C
Nicholas Luson, Mercer	NW	
John Margetson, Brewer	1550 P1	C
William Marler, Haberdasher	1527 P1	A C C
Stephen Mason, Vintner	NW	
Thomas Maynard	NW	
George Medley, Mercer	1554 P1	C C
Edward Meriall, Grocer	1537 P4	C C

NAME	W LL DATE	W LL BEQUE	
James Michael, Taylor	1542 P1(5)		C?
Mumphrey Monmouth, Draper	1537 P4	G H	+ P
Roger Mundy, Goldsmith	1562 P4		
John Nicholls, Merchant Taylor (1525)	NW		
John Nicholson	NW		
Thomas Nicholson	NW		
William Nicholson, Vintner	NW		
Thomas Nowell	NW		
Robert Packington, Mercer	1535 P4	G	+ P
Robert Paget, Merchant Taylor	1541 P4	C F H	C
Robert Palmer, Mercer	1544 P1	C D	C
Richard Pannell	NW		
Thomas Pargeter, Salter	1530 P1	A B C D E	C
Robert Paris	NW		
John a Parke, Mercer	1525 P1	A B C D E	C
William Partridge	NW		
Stephen Peacock, Haberdasher	1536 P1	A C D E F	C
Thomas Perpoint, Draper	1544 P1	C	C
John Petit, Grocer	1532 P3		+ P
William Petit, Grocer	NW		
Henry Peydell, Vintner	NW		
John Pierson, Barber-Surgeon	1530 P1	A B C D E F	C
John Pirry, Fishmonger	1542 P1	A B C	C
John Pleasaunce, Brewer	1527 P1	A C E	C
Alexander Plimley, Mercer	1532 P1	A C D E	C
William Pridde	1550 P5		+ P?
John Priest, Grocer	NW		
William Prowe, Dyer	1528 P1	C F	C
John Purser, Vintner	1533 P1		+ P
Thomas Pykas, Skinner	1537 P1	B C	C
John Pyke, Goldsmith	1533 P1	C E	C
Thomas Reynold, Fishmonger	1539 P1	D E	C
Richard Reynolds, Mercer	1541 P4	B D G	C
Simon Rice, Mercer	1530 P1	C	C
John Richmond, Armourer (1536, 37)	1559 P3		+ C
Robert Robinson, Shereman	NW		
William Roche, Draper	1549 P3	C	C
Ralph Rowlett, Goldsmith	1543 P1	A C D	C
John Ryecroft	1532 P1	C	C
John Sandell, Vintner	1532 P1	A B C E	C
John Saxey, Merchant Taylor	1529 P3	A C	C
John Sergeant, Dyer	1550 P4		
Edmund Shaw, Haberdasher	1539 P1	A C D	C
Robert Shether, Merchant Taylor	1528 P1	A C D F	C
George Simmonds, Vintner	1544 P1	C	C
Ralph Simmonds, Fishmonger	1541 P4	A	C
Robert Smith, Fishmonger	NW		
Thomas Snodenham	1540 P3	A	C
William Snowden	NW		
Nicholas Spakeman, Haberdasher	1557 P2	C	C
Thomas Speight, Merchant Taylor	NW		+ C
John Spencer, Vintner	NW		
Thomas Spencer, Vintner	1538 P1	C D	C
Peter Starkey, Draper	1545 P1	B D	C
Thomas Starre	NW		
Nicholas Statham, Mercer	1538 P2	C	C
James Stirley, Vintner	NW		
Henry Sturgeon, Ironmonger	NW		
John Taverner, Stationer	1529 P1	A C D E	C
John Taylor, Clothworker	1547 P3		
John Thompson, Waxchandler	1527 P1	A C D F	C
Ralph Thompson, Fishmonger	1535 P1	A D E F	C
Robert Trappes, Goldsmith (1534)	NW		
Thomas Trappes, Goldsmith	1544 P4		
Edmund Trendall, Draper	1525 P1	A C D E F	C
William Turke, Fishmonger	1558 P2		C
John Twyford, Vintner	1549 P1		+ C
John Twysleton, Goldsmith (1525-26)	1525 P1	A B E	C
John Umpton, Draper	NW		
Geoffrey Vaughan, Draper	1536 P4	A C	C
Walter Vaughan, Vintner	1534 P1	C D F	C
Lawrence Vuthack, Leatherseller	NW		
Robert Wade, Merchant Taylor	1529 P2	C E	C
Thomas Wall, Salter	1531 P1	A B C E F	C

NA E
 Nicholas Waring, Salter
 Robert Warner, Draper
 Ralph Warren, Mercer
 Robert Warren, Merchant Taylor
 John Waters, Vintner
 Thomas Watts, Draper
 Hugh Welsh, Goldsmith
 Robert White, Draper
 William Wilford, Merchant Taylor
 Henry Winkote
 Paul Withypoll, Merchant Taylor (1527)
 Andrew Woodcock, Grocer

D E W L L B E U E S
 1545 P3 F C
 1555 P1 C G C
 1552 P1 C
 1544 P1 C
 NW
 1539 P3 C C
 NW
 1529 P1 B C D E C
 1550 P1 C C
 1544 P3
 1542 P3
 1548 P3 G I P?

Common Councillors 1534-36

Thomas Abraham
 Thomas Addington, Skinner
 Robert Alford, Draper
 Ralph Allen, Grocer
 Richard Allen, Haberdasher
 Edward Altham, Clothworker
 Hammond Amcottes, Fishmonger
 Henry Amcottes, Fishmonger
 William Ampleford, Merchant Taylor
 John Appleyard, Mercer
 Henry Averell, Goldsmith (1538)
 John Banks, Barber-Surgeon
 Randall Barbor, Vintner
 William Barde, Fishmonger
 Robert Barefoot, Mercer
 Robert Barker, Vintner
 Humphrey Barnes, Ironmonger
 John Baxter, Haberdasher
 Robert Baxter, Haberdasher (1536)
 William Beale, Skinner
 Robert Benbow, Vintner
 John Bennet, Haberdasher
 William Blank, Haberdasher
 William Bodley, Grocer
 Martin Bowes, Goldsmith
 Thomas Bowyer, Grocer
 William Bowyer, Draper
 John Branch, Draper
 Thomas Brewster, Fishmonger
 William Brockett, Goldsmith
 Richard Broke, Salter
 William Bromwell, Mercer
 William Brothers, Draper
 Richard Buckland, Merchant Taylor
 William Burgoyne, Draper
 Edward Burlace, Mercer
 Thomas Burnell, Mercer
 William Butler, Grocer
 Richard Callard, Painter Stainer
 Thomas Calton, Goldsmith
 Roger Chalfont, Vintner
 John Chambers, Vintner
 Thomas Chayney, Salter
 Thomas Cheverall, Haberdasher
 Oliver Claymond, Clothworker
 John Clerk, Draper
 Henry Clitherowe, Merchant Taylor
 Thomas Cole, Merchant Taylor
 Thomas Collins, Salter (1536)
 Walter Cooper, Goldsmith
 John Cotes, Salter
 William Coxe
 Vincent Coxon, Skinner
 John Croft, Grocer
 Thomas Curle, Grocer
 Thomas Curtes, Pewterer

NW
 1543 P3 C C
 1546 P1 + C
 1543 P3
 1558 P4 G H
 1548 P3 G
 1562 P4 + C?
 1554 P1 A + C
 NW
 1537 -- A C E C
 1540 P1 + C?
 1553 --
 1543 P1 A B C C
 1551 P4
 1546 P1 + C?
 1539 P1 + C
 1540 P1 A C C
 1546 P4 A D C
 1543 P4 A C C
 1546 P1 + C?
 NW
 1559 P1 + C
 NW
 1539 P1 F C
 1565 P2 D H + C
 NW
 1544 P1 A C C
 1555 P4
 1537 P1 A B D F C
 1536 P1 A B C E F C
 NW
 1536 P1 A B C D F C
 1545 P4 A C D F G C
 1558 P1 A C
 NW
 1544 P4
 1548 P1 C C
 NW
 NW
 NW
 NW
 1563 P4
 NW
 NW
 1539 P3 D C
 1549 P2 C + C
 1545 P4
 1556 P3
 1536 P1 A C D E C
 NW
 1547 P4 A C D C
 NW
 1541 P4 A C
 1563 P4
 1539 P1 C D F C
 NW

NAME	W LL DATE	W LL BE UESTS
Henry Dacres, Merchant Taylor	1537 P1	A C D C
Matthew Dale, Haberdasher	1549 P4	
William Dauntsey, Mercer	1543 P4	A C D F C
Robert Dawbeney, Merchant Taylor	1558 P3	
William Dolphin, Draper	1557 P1	A C
Thomas Doughty, Fishmonger	1537 P1	A F C
Robert Draper, Goldsmith	1544 P4	A C D C
Michael English, Mercer	1527 P1	B D E C
Simon English, Skinner	1539 P3	
John Fairey, Mercer	1540 P1	C C
Richard Farmer, Grocer (1534)	1551 P1	+ C
William Farnley, Mercer	NW	
Michael Fox, Draper	NW	
Thomas Fuller, Mercer	1540 P3	
Thomas Gale, Haberdasher	NW	
Nicholas Gibson, Grocer (1534)	1540 P3	
Richard Gibson, Merchant Taylor	1534 P1	C C
David Gittens, Vintner	NW	
William Gonson, Grocer	NW	
John Gresham, Mercer	1554 P4	D C
Richard Gresham, Mercer	1549 P3	+ C
William Gresham, Mercer	1548 P4	
Richard Hall, Ironmonger	1541 P3	
Robert Hammond	NW	
William Hancocks, Vintner	NW	
John Hardy, Haberdasher	1540 P1	+ C?
Roger Hargest	NW	
Thomas Haslop	NW	
Robert Herdes, Merchant Taylor	1556 P3	
John Hill, Haberdasher	1535 P1	F C
Richard Hill, Mercer	1564 P4	+ P?
Rowland Hill, Mercer	1560 P4	+ P?
Richard Hilton, Vintner	1539 P1	A B C C
Richard Holte, Merchant Taylor	1550 P3	
John Hone, Tallowchandler	1534 P1	A B C D E C
Roger Horton, Goldsmith	1556 P1	+ C?
Nicholas Howe, Butcher	NW	
Henry Huberthorn, Merchant Taylor	1556 P4	
John Hussey, Vintner	1549 P3	C C
William Ibgrave	1555 P2	C C
Bernard Jenyns, Skinner	1551 P5	C G C
William Jenyns, Brewer	1540 P1	A C F C
John Jerrard, Merchant Taylor	1544 P1	A C D C
Richard Jervis, Mercer	1555 P4	
Leonard Johnson, Fishmonger	1542 P1	+ C?
Andrew Judde, Skinner	1558 P1	+ C?
Henry Keble, Vintner	NW	
Edmund Kemp, Mercer	1542 P1	D F C
John Kidderminster, Draper	1543 P1	A B C D C
Alan King, Vintner	1544 P1	A C C
Thomas Kirry, Salter	NW	
Thomas Kitson, Mercer	1540 --	A C
Humphrey Knight, Fishmonger	1549 P2	+ C
Thomas Knight, Brewer	1545 P4	D C
John Lane, Grocer	1556 P4	+ C
Ralph Latham, Goldsmith	1557 P1	+ C?
William Laxton, Grocer	1556 P2	C?
Oliver Leder, Fishmonger	1554 P2	+ C
Robert Lesse, Merchant Taylor (1537)	1538 --	C C
Thomas Lewen, Ironmonger	1554 P1	A C D E F H C
William Locke, Mercer	1550 P4	+ P
Emmanuel Lucar, Merchant Taylor	1574 P4	G + P
Nicholas Luson, Mercer	NW	
Thomas Malby	NW	
John Margetson, Brewer	1550 P1	+ C
Walter Marshe, Mercer	1540 P3	
Stephen Mason, Vintner	NW	
John Maynard, Mercer	1557 P3	
George Medley, Mercer	1554 P1	C C
Edward Meriall, Grocer	1537 P4	C C
William Merry, Grocer	1547 P4	G H + P
Thomas Mills, Mercer	NW	
Humphrey Monmouth, Draper	1537 P4	G H + P
Roger Mundy, Goldsmith	1562 P4	

NAME	W DATE	WILL BEQ ESTS				
William Naseby	NW					
Thomas Nott, Grocer	1547 P3					
Richard Osborne, Grocer (1536)	1544 P2	C				C
Thomas Osborne, Grocer	NW					
Humphrey Packington, Mercer	1555 P4	C				C
Robert Packington, Mercer	1535 P4		G	+		P
Christopher Paine, Brewer	1551 P4					
Robert Palmer, Mercer	1544 P1	C D				C
John Palterton, Goldsmith	1517 P3					
Thomas Percy, Skinner	NW					
Thomas Perpoint, Draper	1544 P1	C				C
Roger Pinchester, Grocer	1548 P3					
John Pirry, Fishmonger	1542 P1	A B C				C
John Powell, Mercer	1553 P3					
John Priest, Grocer	NW					
Richard Reed, Salter	1550 P3			G		
Richard Reynolds, Mercer	1541 P4	B D	G			C
John Richards, Draper	1537 P1	A B C E				C
Thomas Richardson, Draper	1533 P1	C E				C
John Richmond, Armourer (1536, 37)	1559 P3				+	C
William Robins, Mercer	1549 P4				+	P
Robert Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1538 P1	C D				C
Ralph Rowlett, Goldsmith	1543 P1	A C D				C
John Sadler, Draper	1559 P1				+	C
Edmund Shaw, Haberdasher	1539 P1	A C D				C
George Simmonds, Vintner	1544 P1	C				C
Ralph Simmonds Fishmonger	1541 P4	A				C
Nicholas Spakeman, Haberdasher	1557 P2	C				C
Thomas Spencer, Vintner	1538 P1	C D				C
Richard Stanfield, Skinner	1551 P4					
Nicholas Statham, Mercer	1538 P2	C				C
James Staveley, Vintner	1551 P4					
Henry Sturgeon, Ironmonger	NW					
John Sturgeon, Haberdasher	1562 P3				+	P
Henry Sukeley, Merchant Taylor	1564 P3					
John Swinkfield, Fishmonger	1558 P1	D				C
George Tadlowe, Haberdasher	1557 P3	D			+	P
John Taylor, Clothworker	1547 P3					
Thomas Thrower	NW					
John Tolos, Clothworker	1548 P4	D				C
Robert Trappes, Goldsmith (1534)	NW					
William Tucker, Grocer	1568 P4					
William Turke, Fishmonger	1558 P2				+	C
John Twyford, Vintner	1549 P1				+	C
Geoffrey Vaughan, Draper	1536 P4	C				C
Robert Warner, Draper	1555 P1	C	G			C
John Wase	1553 P4					
Thomas Watts, Draper	1539 P3	C				C
Robert White, Draper	1529 P1	B C D E				C
William White, Leatherseller	1536 P4					
John Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1551 P4				+	C?
William Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1550 P1	C				C
William Wilkinson, Mercer	1543 P3				+	P?
Ralph Willett, Vintner	NW					
Paul Withypoll, Merchant Taylor (1527)	1542 P3					
Thomas Wood, Cooper	1547 P1	C				C
Andrew Woodcock, Grocer	1548 P3		G	I	+	P?
Robert Wynke, Vintner	1542 P1				+	C
Roger Young, Haberdasher	NW					

Common Councillors 1544-46

Robert Alford, Draper	1546 P1				+	C
Richard Allen, Haberdasher	1558 P4		G H			
Thomas Alsop, Grocer	1557 P1				+	C?
Edward Altham, Clothworker	1548 P3		G			
Nicholas Althorp, Grocer	NW					
Hammond Amcotts, Fishmonger	1554 P4					+C?
Thomas Archer, Cordwainer	1550 P5			I	+	P
Robert Austen, Grocer	1559 P4		G H			
John Ayliffe, Barber-Surgeon	1556 P2	D				C
Thomas Bacon, Salter	1577 P4				+	P
John Banks, Barber-Surgeon	1553 --					
Bartholomew Barnes, Mercer	NW					

NA E

Henry Barnes, Grocer
 William Barnes, Merchant Taylor
 Thomas Barry, Salter
 William Beale, Skinner
 Thomas Berthelet, Stationer
 John Biffin, Brewer
 Thomas Blank, Haberdasher (1542)
 William Blank, Haberdasher
 Thomas Bowyer, Grocer
 John Branche, Draper
 Thomas Broke, Merchant Taylor
 William Brothers, Draper
 John Brown
 Giles Brugge, Draper
 Richard Buckland, Merchant Taylor
 William Butler, Grocer
 Richard Buttle, Merchant Taylor
 Thomas Calton, Goldsmith
 Alexander Carlisle, Vintner
 John Cater, Vintner
 William Chambers, Goldsmith
 Robert Chapman, Draper
 John Charley, Cooper
 John Chaunterell, Vintner
 Robert Chertsey, Mercer
 William Cheverall, Draper
 Thomas Clayton, Baker
 William Clerk, Skinner
 Stephen Cobbe, Haberdasher
 William Collins
 Walter Cooper, Tiler
 John Core, Grocer
 George Crowche, Skinner
 John Crymes, Clothworker
 Thomas Curtes, Pewterer
 Thomas Cutler, Tallowchandler
 Matthew Dale, Haberdasher
 Nicholas Dalton, Skinner
 Ralph Davenant, Merchant Taylor
 Robert Dawbeney, Merchant Taylor
 Thomas Ditchfield, Salter
 Robert Downes, Ironmonger
 Robert Draper, Goldsmith
 Christopher Dray, Plumber
 John Duffield, Mercer
 George Elliot, Mercer
 Anthony Fabian, Draper
 George Forman, Skinner
 Thomas Gale, Haberdasher
 William Garrard, Haberdasher
 John Gibbes, Vintner
 David Gittens, Vintner
 Henry Goodyear, Leatherseller
 Philip Gunter, Skinner
 Thomas Hancock, Vintner
 John Hare, Mercer
 Robert Hartop, Goldsmith
 Thomas Hayes, Goldsmith
 John Heathe, Painter Stainer
 William Hewett, Clothworker
 Henry Horne, Grocer
 Roger Horton, Goldsmith
 Nicholas Howe, Butcher
 Augustine Hynde, Clothworker
 Thomas Hynde, Plumber
 Bennet Jackson, Butcher
 John Jakes, Merchant Taylor
 William James, Cutler
 Bernard Jenyns, Skinner
 Edward Jenyns, Skinner
 John Jerrard, Merchant Taylor
 Henry Keble, Vintner
 Nicholas Keyser, Vintner
 Alan King, Vintner

W
DA E W LL BEQ E

1557 P4
 1548 P1 C C
 NW
 1546 P1 + C?
 1555 P3
 NW
 1562 P4 G
 NW
 NW
 1555 P4
 1546 P3 A C C
 1545 P4 A C D F G C
 NW
 1557 P1 D C
 1558 P1 A C
 NW
 NW
 NW
 1561 P3
 1578 P4
 1559 P4 G
 NW
 1553 --
 1547 P3
 1555 P4 D C
 1569 P4 G C
 1555 P4 A C C
 NW
 1565 P4 G J
 NW
 NW
 1547 P3
 1544 * + P?
 NW
 NW
 1557 P3 C C
 1549 P4
 1568 P4
 1552 P4 H I J + P
 1558 P3
 1564 P4 H
 1556 P3 A C
 1544 P4 A C D C
 1551 P4 H + P
 NW
 1549 P4
 1554 P4
 NW + C
 NW
 1570 P4 + C
 NW
 NW
 1556 P3 + C?
 1583 P4 G H P
 NW
 1564 P3
 1555 P1 + C
 1549 P1 + C
 1552 P3
 1567 P4
 1544 P1 F C
 1556 P1 C?
 NW
 1554 P3(4)
 NW
 1555 P4 C D C
 1556 P3
 1558 P2 + C?
 1551 P5 C G C
 NW
 1544 P1 A C D C
 NW
 1554 P1 + C?
 1544 P1 A C C

NAME	W DATE	WILL BEG EST			
Thomas Kirry, Salter	NW				
Stephen Kirton, Merchant Taylor	1552 P4		H		P
Humphrey Knight, Fishmonger	1549 P2				+ C
Francis Lambert, Grocer	NW				
John Lambert, Draper	1553 --				
John Lane, Grocer	1556 P4				+ C
William Lane, Grocer	1552 P4				
William Langton, Mercer	1551 --				
Ralph Latham, Goldsmith	1557 P1				
John Lawse, Salter	NW				
Richard Lloyd, Vintner	1545 P3	C			C
William Locke, Mercer	1550 P4				+ P
Robert Long, Mercer	1551 P4				+ C
Thomas Lowe, Vintner	1574 P4				+ C
John Lowen, Draper	1557 P1	C	E		C
Emmanuel Lucar, Merchant Taylor	1574 P4			G	+ P
Humphrey Luce, Leatherseller	1547 P4				
John Machell, Clothworker	1558 P1				+ C?
John Malt, Merchant Taylor	1546 P3	A	C	D	C
Thomas Marbury, Haberdasher	1545 P3				
John Margetson, Brewer	1550 P1				+ C
Stephen Mason, Vintner	NW				
George Medley, Mercer	1554 P1	C			C
Robert Mellishe, Merchant Taylor	1561 P4				
Robert Meredith, Mercer	1546 P4	C		G	C
William Merry, Grocer	1547 P4			G H	+ P
Thomas Middleton, Skinner	1567 P4				
William Mirfin, Vintner	NW				
Edward Morton, Grocer	1552 P3			H	+ P
Thomas Nicholson, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4				
Thomas Norton, Grocer	1577 P4				
Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	1580 P4				+ C
Humphrey Packington, Mercer	1555 P4	C			C
Christopher Paine, Brewer	1551 P4				
Simon Palmer, Goldsmith	1552 P2				+ C
Thomas Percy, Skinner	NW				
Richard Porey, Brewer	1558 P1		D		C
Vincent Randall, Grocer	1577 P3				
William Rawlins, Grocer	1553 P4				
Richard Reed, Salter	1550 P3			G	
Thomas Richards	NW				
John Richmond, Armourer (1536, 37)	1559 P3				+ C
William Robins, Mercer	1549 P4				+ P
John Rose, Grocer	NW				
John Royse, Mercer	NW				
John Sadler, Draper	1559 P1				+ C
Anthony Silver, Leatherseller	NW				
Robert Smith, Grocer	1566 P4				
Nicholas Spakeman, Haberdasher	1557 P2	C			C
Thomas Sperte, Draper	NW				
Thomas Stacy, Mercer	1559 P3				+ P?
Richard Stanfield, Skinner	1551 P4				
Roger Starkey, Grocer	1545 P3				
James Staveley, Vintner	1551 P4				
Edward Steward, Saddler	1549 P5	C			C
John Stirley, Vintner	1558 P4			G	
John Sturgeon, Haberdasher	1562 P3				+ P
Henry Sukeley, Merchant Taylor	1564 P3				
George Tadlowe, Haberdasher	1557 P3		D		+ P
Roger Taylor, Goldsmith	1556 P4				
Stephen Thwaites, Vintner	NW				
Anthony Totehill, Grocer	1563 P4				
Robert Trappes, Goldsmith (1534)	NW				
William Tucker, Grocer	1568 P4				
Richard Tull, Draper	1559 P4				
Richard Turke, Fishmonger	1552 P4			H	P
John Twyford, Vintner	1549 P1				+ C
Thomas Vicary, Barber-Surgeon	1561 P1	C		G	C
William Ward, Fishmonger	NW				
Ambrose Whalley, Grocer	1557 P3	A	C		C
Thomas White, Merchant Taylor	1566 P3				+ C
Nicholas Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1551 P3				
Robert Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1545 P3				
William Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1550 P1	C			C

NAME
 John Wiseman, Skinner
 Paul Withypoll, Merchant Taylor (1527)
 Andrew Woodcock, Grocer
 Lawrence Wythers, Salter
 John York, Merchant Taylor

W/
 DATE
 1558 P1
 1542 P3
 1548 P3
 NW
 NW

W L L BEQUES S
 C C
 G I + P?

CHAPTER THREE: THE RULERS OF LONDON UNDER EDWARD AND MARY

The Reign of Edward VI

Bishop Bonner regarded the aldermen of London as good Catholics endangered by the pernicious preaching of evangelicals like John Hooper.¹ His perception of the influence of evangelical preaching by 1549 was shared, although interpreted differently, by John Butler, who wrote approvingly of Hooper's preaching: 'very many of the aldermen, who were veteran papists, have embraced Christ. In a word, the truth is especially flourishing in London beyond all other parts of the Kingdom.'² The enthusiasm of many of the rulers for Mary's restoration of Catholicism suggests some over-optimism in Butler's assessment, but, in their corporate role, the rulers were able to accommodate the Edwardian religious changes in a manner which arose from more than mere conformity achieved through political coercion.

On one level, the Corporation was responsible for implementing and maintaining the regime's religious changes. The last notable public religious ceremony, before the Edwardian Reformation began, took place in June 1547. A requiem service was held for the French king 'with a goodly herse in the qwere, and the lorde of Arnedel [Arundel] principalle morner, with dyvers byshoppes, the mayer of London with the aldermen, and alle the hed craffts of the London...and 200 powre men in blacke gownes holdyng staffe torches; and the next day the sayd obbyt kepte in every paryche

¹ See above, ch. 2.

² *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. H. Robinson, 2 vols. (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1846-1847), II, pp. 635-636.

churche in London wyth the bells ryngyng'.³ However in July preparations were begun for the first Edwardian visitation of the Church, which actually commenced in September. The *Book of Homilies*, prepared by Cranmer to provide set sermons for reading from the pulpit, accompanied and reinforced a new set of royal injunctions which abolished much of the remaining traditional religious ceremonial. Parish processions were prohibited, while the appetites of the iconoclasts in the City were whetted by the extension of the abolition of images to include those in stained glass windows. The *Book of Homilies* denounced prayers for the dead, while a statute was passed by parliament in December dissolving the chantries, on the premise that belief in purgatory itself was a 'vain opinion'.⁴ The entire institutional underpinning for the cult of purgatory was thus removed within a year of Edward's accession.

The visitation of 1547, however, made necessary government measures to restrain a wave of evangelical iconoclasm, perpetrated in anticipation of further reform. In November 1547 serving men and apprentices were restrained from irreverent behaviour towards priests and scholars, while parliament provided for punishment of those who abused the sacrament. This was quickly followed by a proclamation prohibiting contentious argument over the nature of the sacrament.⁵ In February 1548 London's common council duly registered a proclamation forbidding curates, preachers and laymen from introducing 'new and strange orders, every one in their own church according to their phantasies...the which...tendeth both to

³ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 54.

⁴ Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, II, pp. 114-130, esp. pp. 116, 124, 126; Hughes & Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, no. 287; H. Gee & W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1896), p. 328.

⁵ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 335v; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, no. 292; Gee & Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 322-328; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, no. 296.

confusion and disorder, and also to the high displeasure of almighty God, who loveth nothing so much as order and obedience', although 'new orders' soon followed, with the introduction of a new order of Communion for Easter, insisting on communion in both kinds for the laity.⁶ In April preaching unlicensed by Lord Protector Somerset or the Archbishop of Canterbury was prohibited by proclamation, while in September a moratorium was placed on all preaching, in favour of the published homilies.⁷

The problem of reformers who would not 'tarry for the magistrate' was one of particular immediacy for the City's rulers. As early as September 1547, Lord St. John, secretary of the privy council, wrote to Lord Mayor Huberthorn: 'all images and pictures in every church to the which no offering nor yet prayer is made by any person, shall stand still for garnishments of the church, so long as they be not otherwise used. And if any be taken down by any negligent person other than by the appointment of the commissioners or by the parson of the church, the same to be set up again by your appointment'.⁸ While this softened some of the impact of the royal injunctions of that year, the basic message was unaltered; '...if the parson or churchwardens have taken down any pictures whereunto no misuse is made, yet those ye may not set up again because they have authority...yet ye may examine them or correct them by punishment for doing the more than was given them to do'. The destruction of glass windows was made more selective than the injunctions might suggest; 'if any be of Thomas Beckett ye must cause them to be changed with as little charge as may be. And if it be any story in glass of the Bishop of Rome, you may

⁶ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 352^v; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, nos. 299, 300.

⁷ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 382^r; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, I, nos. 303, 313.

⁸ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 322.

change his crown by painting, and alter the story as you may with as little charge do it, or else it must be coloured'.⁹ Four days later the aldermen were directed to visit every church in their respective wards, accompanied by the parson, churchwardens and a few leading parishioners, and to inventory behind closed doors the remaining images and to investigate any misdemeanours already committed in removing any.¹⁰

Rapid shifts in government policy partly contributed to the problem, provoking lay attacks upon the prohibition on eating meat in Lent, and, more seriously, upon the sacrament of the altar itself. By January 1548 the aldermen were already requiring the help of the government in obtaining proclamations 'for the steying of the comen eatyng of fflesshe vpon the ffyssh dayes, and the irreverent talkyng and rayling ageinst the most blessed sacrament of the altare', and the following month had to deal with unlawful defacement of altars.¹¹ In October 1548 Hugh Mynors, a commoner by 1556, was ordered to replace the high altar of St. James Garlickhithe, which he and a colleague named Smith had taken down ahead of royal permission.¹² A month later Ralph Clarvaux, a commoner from 1552, and Bartholomew Gibbes, of the parish of St. Leonard East Cheap, were required to sign sureties for four parishioners of the parish that they 'att their owne propre costs and charges, reedifie and buyld agein suche and so menye

⁹ Ibid. Indeed, the cost of providing new windows seems to have acted as a brake upon official destruction of stained glass. William Harrison writing in 1576 noted of English parish churches; '...all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood lofts, and monuments of idolatry are removed, taken down, and defaced; only the stories in glass windows excepted, which, for want of sufficient store of new stuff and by reason of extreme charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realm, are not altogether abolished in most places at once but by little and little suffered to decay, that white glass may be provided and set up in their rooms': W. Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. G. Edelin (New York, 1968), pp. 35-36.

¹⁰ CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 373^r.

¹¹ CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 379^r, 391.

¹² CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 482^v.

alteres within the seyde paryshe church, and after suche manner and forme as by our seyde sovereign lorde the kinge's auctorytie shalbe appoynted'.¹³ The degree of unofficial subversion of the traditional rites was perhaps unsurprising given the increasingly prominent preaching attacking not only purgatory and masses satisfactory, but the mass itself. Bonner's warning to the aldermen is understandable in view of the tenor of the sermons traditionally attended by the representatives of the City and the lords of the privy council. On New Year's Day, 1548, Hugh Latimer preached at Paul's Cross, and on the two following Sundays; 'also this same tyme was moche spekyng agayne the sacrament of the auter, that some callyd it Jacke of the boxe, with divers other shamfulle names; and then was made a proclamation agayne shoche sayers, and [yet] bothe the prechers and other spake agayne it, and so continewed...and at this tyme was moche prechyng agayne the masse'.¹⁴ Indeed, in February 1548 five common councilmen 'declared certein wordes concernyng the masse to the court here, publysshed and spoken by a certein precherin the paryshe churche of Saint Martyn's Orgar, the last Sondag, and agreed to putt the same wordes in wrytyng and to deliver it tomorowe in the mornyng to my lorde the mayer'.¹⁵ The five men, Hammond Amcottes, John Wiseman, John Lowen, William Hewett and James Hawes may have been simply attempting to keep the peace by preventing subversive preaching, but it seems significant that John Lowen would later reveal himself as deeply conservative in his bequests to the retored houses of friars near the end of Mary's reign, while John Wiseman made a number of bequests to his frinds and servants in August 1558 'desiringe theym to

¹³ CLRO, Rep. 12, fo. 2^v.

¹⁴ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 55.

¹⁵ CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 399^v.

praye for my sowle and all Christen sowles'.¹⁶ In September 1548 Alderman Thomas White was instructed 'to serche out the verye cause of the tumulte and commocion of the people in Saint Ffaythe's paryshe vppon Sunday last past in the sermon time, and to declare it to my lorde mayere wyth conveyent speede'.¹⁷

Lay denunciation of the sacrament, however, took place in an atmosphere of growing official approbation. On Whitsun 1548 Lord Mayor Sir John Gresham appointed the three preachers at St. Mary Spital, a traditional site for regular, public sermons attended by the social elite of the City.¹⁸ The appointees, Dr. Tonge, the king's chaplain, Dr. Rowland Taylor, parson of Hadleigh and John Cardmaker, vicar of St. Bride's Fleet Street, were all reformers who preached against the mass.¹⁹ Cardmaker, a lecturer at St. Paul's, was particularly noted for his public denunciations of the mass, while Tonge had already declared from the pulpit that the Lenten fast was a miracle not to be imitated by man. Even as the government inhibited all preaching Cardmaker and 'one that rede tewsday and thursday in Latten, spake agayne the sacrament, and sayd it was but bred and wyne'.²⁰ The sermons at Paul's Cross were in similar vein.²¹ The rulers' responsibility for keeping order in their wards, and hence for

¹⁶ Wiseman also left his soul 'to the mercy of my moste blessid savior and redemer Jesus Christe, and to the glorious virgin St. Mary, and to all the holy company of heaven': PRO, PROB. 11/40, fos. 297^r-299^r. Amcottes and Hewet left no specifically religious bequests in their wills November 1562 and January 1567 respectively: GL, MS. 9171/15, fos. 110^v-111^v; PRO, PROB. 11/49, fos. 70^v-72^v.

¹⁷ CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 470^v.

¹⁸ Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 151-152.

¹⁹ CLRO, Rep. 12, fo. 59^v; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 2-3; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 55.

²⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 32; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 57.

²¹ *Ibid.*

maintaining religious conformity, could lead to their involvement in evangelical attempts to discomfit their Catholic opponents within the City elite. On 5 June 1548 Thomas Tuke reported the curate of St. Gregory by St. Paul's to the alderman of the ward, Castle Baynard, for praying at the time of the high mass 'that almyghtye God myght send the king's counseill grace, and bryng them out of the erronyous opynyons that thei were in'. Sir Clement Smith, a City MP, and the Recorder of London, Robert Broke, attending the service, laughed rather than taking the steps against the curate incumbent upon them as City officers. Tuke later admitted the falsity of the charge, but the alderman through whom he had attempted to discredit two prominent Catholics was Richard Turke, himself an evangelical, and Tuke's attempt to discomfit the conservative rulers was not an isolated incident.²²

It is clear that the number of persons evading or resigning the position of alderman increased during the Edwardian period. Wunderli attributes this essentially to economic pressures, suggesting that periods with a high incidence of office evasion reflect little more than reluctance to accept the burdens and responsibilities of office detrimental to a 'proto-capitalist' conception of private wealth.²³ Yet it would seem that religion played some part in the Edwardian resignations, which usually involved considerable personal expense on the part of the alderman. There had traditionally been occasions when individuals had proved recalcitrant over taking on the office of sheriff or mayor,²⁴ but the Edwardian period saw an unprecedented number of aldermen resigning their positions, rather

²² CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 443^r, 446^r.

²³ R. M. Wunderli, 'Evasion of the Office of Alderman in London, 1523-1672', *London Journal* 15 (1990), pp. 3-18.

²⁴ E.g. *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp. 31, 35; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, pp. 170-171.

than remaining for life. John Ushe, Founder, refused to serve altogether in April 1547, despite imprisonment in Newgate, and was ultimately discharged for a fine of 300 marks.²⁵ In July 1549 Henry Goodyear gave up his cloak, and paid £500 for his discharge, and the following May, just after Nicholas Ridley had taken up the see of London, John Wilford was permitted to resign office without fine. He was followed by Christopher Allen in September, and Robert Chertsey in April 1551.²⁶ Chertsey was certainly Catholic in religion.²⁷ Allen's will, made in 1555, began with a 'traditional' preamble, and he and Goodyear were buried with fully Catholic funeral rites including month's minds.²⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that in 1542 John Wilford had been falsely accused of speaking certain words 'touching on the Bishop of Rome'.²⁹

Equally the reluctance of some persons to take on the office of sheriff assumes considerable significance in view of the direct responsibility of the sheriffs for the enforcement of the religious changes. Thomas Wilkes was elected sheriff in August 1551, and attempted to evade the office on the strength of his lack of ability and property qualifications. Requiring six witnesses to swear that he lacked adequate property Wilkes presented six men of his own choice to swear, including the evangelicals Ralph Davenant, George Tadlow and Richard Grafton, none of whom risked perjury by swearing to precisely what was wanted. Wilkes' refusal to pay the fine consequently imposed upon him for refusing office

²⁵ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, I, p. 183.

²⁶ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 15, 39, 43, 47.

²⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 246.

²⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 302; *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 100, 118

²⁹ CLRO, Rep. 10, fos. 236^v, 238^r.

led to his imprisonment until he finally agreed to pay the £200 fine.³⁰ That Wilkes may have entertained reservations over the role he would have to play as sheriff in religious matters is suggested by the fact that in 1558 he bequeathed his soul to 'almighty God my maker and saviour, to Our Blessed Lady St. Mary, and to all the holy company of heaven', while his alms to the poor were intended 'for the wealth of my soul, my father's soul and all Christian souls'.³¹ The involvement of Davenant, Tadlowe and Grafton in his discomfiture raises the possibility that a committed group of evangelicals may have been trying to encourage the withdrawal of traditionally minded members of the ruling elite from prominent office. When Christopher Allen was committed to Newgate prison in October 1549 Anthony Hickman and Thomas Lodge were the suretors for his appearance before the court after his release.³²

However, the reactions of the more traditionally-minded rulers varied. Mayor John Gresham had sat on the heresy commission of 1544 with his elder brother Richard, and was certainly a Catholic when he died in November 1556, providing for the repair and replacement of images and ornaments in the parishes of St. Mary Aldermanbury, St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, and St. Michael Bassishaw.³³ In early 1548 the number of pamphlets and ballads attacking the mass was causing the authorities some considerable anxiety, in particular Luke Shepherd's 'John Bon and Mast Parson' 'wherewithe the papists weare soore greved, specyally syr John Gresam, then beyinge mayour'. As Edward Underhill related the incident, Gresham had intended to arrest and imprison John Day, the printer of *the tract*,

³⁰ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, pp. 51-54.

³¹ PRO, PROB. 11/42A, fo. 314.

³² CLRO, Rep. 12, fos. 154^r, 158^v.

³³ PRO, PROB. 11/38, fo. 192.

until Underhill lent him a copy of it; 'I praye you lett me se it [said Gresham]; for I haue nott sene any off them." So he toke it, and reade a litle off it, and laughed theratt, as it was bothe pythye and mery; by meanes whereoff John Daye, sittynge att the syde borde after dynner, was biddene go whome, whoo hadde eles goone to presone'.³⁴ Gresham's elder brother Richard, a prime mover behind the foundation of the hospitals at the end of Henry's reign and closely involved in the general efforts to establish a more robust system of poor relief, had been a close associate of Thomas Cromwell. He continued to serve until his death in May 1549, although he seems to have been as conservative in religious terms as his brother, leaving gold rings to the staunch Catholics Anthony Bonvisi and Recorder Robert Broke, and to Alderman Sir Ralph Warren.³⁵

In the context of the highly charged religious atmosphere the degree of commitment to traditional forms in the rulers' wills is noteworthy. Alderman Sir John Cotes made his will in February 1547, before any steps had been taken against the traditional practices as established in the last years of Henry VIII. He employed William Carkke to write his testament, which explains the form of the preamble: 'I bequeath my soul to almighty Jesus, my maker and redeemer, in whom and by the merits of whoe blessed passion is all my whole trust of clear remission and forgiveness of my sins'. Yet he established an annual obit to be attended by the Skinners' Company in perpetuity, and required his executors to dispose of the residue of his estate for his soul and those of his late wives and all Christian souls.³⁶ At the end of March 1547 William Barnes, Merchant

³⁴ *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 172.

³⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 233. A year later, in February 1550, the houses of Bonvisi and a number of prominent religious exiles 'which persons were rank papists' were seized by the sheriffs for the king: Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, p. 34.

³⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/31, fo. 232.

Taylor, bequeathed his soul to Christ, the Virgin and the celestial company of heaven, leaving the traditional gift of 3s. 4d. to the high altar of his parish, Allhallows the More, in discharge of his soul, and a further 3s. 4d. to maintain a morrow mass there.³⁷

However even after the dissolution of the chantries in December 1547, eight testators of the 54 who made wills before the restoration of the mass on 20 December 1553 still required prayers for their souls, and expressed an explicit linkage between their charitable benefaction and the state of their souls. In July 1549 Alderman Sir William Roche, of St. Peter le Poer, required the recipients of his alms to pray for his soul and all Christian souls,³⁸ as did Bernard Jenyns, Skinner, on 6 July 1551.³⁹ Five days earlier Richard Farmer, restored to his property after his fall from grace under Henry for maintaining the authority of the Pope, left his soul 'to almighty God, my maker and redeemer, and to Our Blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin, mother of Christ, and to all the Company in heaven, beseeching them to be mediators and intercessors unto almighty God for the salvation of my sinful soul'.⁴⁰ As late as June 1552, Sir Ralph Warren left his soul 'to almighty and everliving God, my maker and redeemer, and to Our Blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin, his mother, and to all the holy company of heaven, beseeching God of his most infinite mercy to forgive me my sins and misdeeds, and it will please him to take my soul to his

³⁷ GL, MS. 9051/3, fo. 133^v.

³⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 323.

³⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 115^v. See also PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 189^r: Thomas Burnell Mercer, left his soul 'vnto almightie God my creator, and vnto Jesus Christ my redemer, beseeching the blessed trinitie to take me to their mercie, and our blessid Lady, and all the holy company of heveyn, to pray with me and for me' (8 May 1548); GL, MS. 9171/12, fo. 27^v (John Hussey, Vintner, 23 August 1549); PRO, PROB. 11/32, fos. 226^{r-v} (John Clerk, Draper, 15 February 1549); 330^r (Edward Stewarde, Saddler, 8 March 1549); 34, fo. 244^r (William Wilford, Merchant Taylor, 14 May, 1550).

⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 19.

unspeakable mercy and grace'. In the great parlour of his house in Stepney he had an image of St. Jerome, and it is interesting that the deputy acting for him in his ward was Hammond Amcottes, who had reported the curate of St. Martin Orgar for speaking against the mass four years before.⁴¹ Robert Long, Mercer, left 100 marks and a gold ring to his 'deere frende, lorde Steven, late Bysshop of Winchester' in December 1551, and 40 shillings to Thomas Watson, chaplain to the imprisoned Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstall. Stephen Gardiner had been imprisoned since 1548 when he proved intractable in his opposition to the religious stance of the new regime, while Watson, Bishop of Lincoln under Mary, made one of the first sermons at Paul's Cross in the early days of Mary's reign.⁴²

Equally striking are the clear attempts to 'counterfeit the mass'. Alderman John Tolos bequeathed twelve staff torches to burn 'at the communion of the holy body and blood of our saviour Jesus Christ' in August 1548, a practice which had, indeed, been prohibited by the third royal injunction of 1547.⁴³ The 'furious papist' John Twyford, evidently interpreted the service of the First Edwardian Prayer Book in a highly traditional sense. He required burial 'in our lady chapel nygh to my pughe, with solempe dyrige and the blessed comunyon according to the kinge's maiestie's proceadings'. In other words the communion for the dead was being co-opted as a requiem mass. His curate, who wrote and witnessed the will, was Henry George, lampooned as an old conservative drunkard in

⁴¹ PRO, PROB. 11/36, fo. 113; PROB. 2/256.

⁴² *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp. 56, 83; *Diary of Machyn*, p. 41.

⁴³ PRO, PROB. 11/32, fo. 147; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, II, p. 116: '...from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world'.

Luke Shephard's *Doctour Double Ale*.⁴⁴ Much of the opportunity to 'counterfeit' the mass was removed in Whitsun week 1550, when the altars in every London parish were removed, except for St. Nicholas 'Willows' [Olave], which still retained its altar in July 1551.⁴⁵ On St. Barnabas' Day, 13 June 1550 'at nyght was the aultar in Powlles pulled downe', in the wake of Nicholas Ridley's first episcopal visitation as Bishop of London. It is clear that this could not remove traditional attitudes towards the beneficial effects of proximity to, or of seeing, the host, since in March the following year 'was the grattes besyde the hye altar in Powlles closyd up, that the pepulle shulde not loke in at the tyme of the communyone tyme'.⁴⁶ On 25 October 1552 'was the pluckinge downe of alle the alteres and chappelles in alle Powlles church, at the commandment of the byshoppe then beyng Nicolas Rydley, and alle the goodly stoneworke that stode behynde the hye alter, and the place for the prest, dekyne and subdekyne'.⁴⁷ Soon afterwards, on Allhallows Day, the communion of the Second Edwardian Prayer Book was first celebrated by Ridley in the cathedral, although his afternoon sermon at Paul's Cross lacked the effectiveness he may have hoped for: '...the byshope prechyd at after-none at Powlles crosse, and stode there tyll it was nere honde v. a cloke, and the mayer nor aldermen came not with-in Powlles church, nor the craffttes as they were wont to doo, for be-cause thay were soo wary [weary] of hys longe stondynge'.⁴⁸ After this Allhallows' Day 'was no more communion in

⁴⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/33, fo. 39^v; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 440.

⁴⁵ Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, p. 41; *Two London Chronicles*, pp. 22, 24.

⁴⁶ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, pp. 67, 69; *Two London Chronicles*, p. 22; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, II, p. 47.

⁴⁷ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 75.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

no place but on the sondayes', which effectively ended all opportunity to use the communion service as a substitute for specific masses held at side altars and in side chapels.⁴⁹

The attenuation of opportunity for traditional religious bequests, made virtually complete by the removal of the altars and the establishment of the second Prayer Book, did not merely remove all overtly religious bequests from the wills of Catholic testators. An altered pattern of religious benefaction began to emerge, centred upon the sermon, while some testators made bequests to maintain divine service and to provide church furnishings within the context of the new English communion service from 1549 onwards. With the disappearance of the dirige and requiem mass, Catholic testators too requested the service of preachers to deliver sermons at their funerals. Bernard Jenyns substituted sermons for the older form of obsequies spread over two days, providing for one sermon at his burial, and one on the following day.⁵⁰ Aldermen Richard Reed provided for a 'discreet and learned preacher' to deliver a sermon for him in Salters' Hall in September 1550.⁵¹ In such cases it is often difficult to be certain whether the testator was deliberately replacing a Catholic form with a more acceptable reformed alternative, as Humphrey Monmouth did by instituting thirty sermons instead of a trental of masses, or was in some sense 'counterfeiting' a month's mind from a more conservative motivation. Nevertheless, the gradual adoption of the sermon as an integral element of testamentary practice, did ensure that Catholics were participating in a broad redefinition of patterns of lay pious behaviour. In the immediate term this made the funeral sermon an important element in

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 114^v.

⁵¹ PRO, PROB. 11/33, fo. 213.

mortuary practice throughout Mary's reign,⁵² and ultimately meant that under Elizabeth conservative testators such as Sir Martin Bowes, might themselves provide a platform for the more radical Protestant preachers.⁵³

Yet testators of reformed opinions themselves played a considerable role in the process. Besides William Robins and Richard Turke, Stephen Kirton, Merchant Taylor, provides further evidence of evangelicalism among the aldermen. In February 1552 he made provision for thirty sermons in his parish, St. Andrew's Undershaft, and forbade any of the gowns given to the poor at his burial to be of black cloth. He kept a cope and vestment in the chamber over the parlour of his house, which he may have acquired as a commissioner for church goods in the parish in 1547.⁵⁴ A number of the commoners who made wills in the Edwardian period proved equally important in promoting evangelical preaching. The sacramentary Christopher Dray requested Cardmaker and Taylor to preach three sermons for him. Edward Morton, Grocer, provided for ten sermons in his parish church of St. Edmund Sherehog, in April 1552. He left 6s. 8d. 'for euery suche sermon to be made, towards the bying of bokes for them that shal preche ye same sermons'.⁵⁵ His overseer and 'very special friend', Common Councilman William Lane, Grocer, himself made a will with an unusual preamble four months later:

Ffirste I bequeathe my soule vnto almightie God, and to his sonne Jhus Christe, the seconde parsone in trynitie, throughe whose deathe and deseruings onlye I hope to inherite everlasting lyfe as an heyre therunto bought by his death and precious blood, withoute all or enny of my deseruings, and trust at the last day to aryse agayne amonge theym vnto whome

⁵² *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 37-176 *passim*.

⁵³ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 21^r.

⁵⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/36, fo. 124; PROB. 2/252.

⁵⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 189^{r-v}.

yt shalbe sayd by hym "goo your wayse into the kingedome of my
father prepared for you from the beginning"'.⁵⁶

Both Lane and Morton desired burials 'with as lytle coste as may be', Morton restricting the expenditure on his obsequies to 40 shillings. Lane left £60 to the universities, while his uncle John Lane, Grocer, was a parishioner of St. Magnus, whose will was witnessed in 1556 by the curate Edward Stevens, himself called before the privy council in 1546 as a sacramantary.⁵⁷

Some testators displayed a concern for comely and discreet burial services, in conjunction with an emphasis on the singing of psalms, which seems to suggest a leaning towards reformed ideas on ceremony. In August 1548 Andrew Woodcock, Grocer, requested burial 'withoute pompe and with as lytell charges as may be, onley I wolde haue foure or fyve preests and clerkes to receyve my bodye at the churche dore with some godly salmse, and a sermond to be made be some good well lernyd man that will declare the worde of God senserlye', and the similar provisions of Thomas Archer, Cordwainer, have been noted above.⁵⁸

A comparison of the patterns of religious bequest in the early Edwardian period, between the abolition of the chantries and the replacement of the mass by the first prayer book, with the period following up to the restoration of the mass under Mary, illustrates these developments.

⁵⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/35, fo. 254^v.

⁵⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fo. 370^r; *APC*, I, pp. 394, 414, 418-19, 440, 466, 479.

⁵⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fo. 280^v.

Table Seven: Religious Bequests 1547-1553

	21 Dec. 1547-8 June 1549	9 June 1549-19 Dec. 1553.	Totals
'Traditional' Preamble (P1 & P2)	4 (25%)	7 (18.42%)	11 (20.36%)
Prayers for Soul	3 (18.76%)	3 (7.9%)	6 (11.2%)
Dirige, Lights at Funeral	1 (6.26%)	1 (2.64%)	2 (3.7%)
Payments for Neglected Tithes	3 (18.76%)	3 (7.9%)	6 (11.2%)
Funeral Sermons	2 (12.5%)	2 (5.26%)	4 (7.4%)
Other Sermons	0 (0%)	5 (13.6%)	5 (9.26%)
Psalms	1 (6.26%)	2 (5.26%)	3 (5.56%)
Church Repairs	1 (6.26%)	7 (18.42%)	8 (14.82%)
Church Furnishings	0 (0%)	1 (2.64%)	1 (1.86%)
Alms to Poor	8 (50%)	29 (76.34%)	37 (68.5%)
Funds for Poor Scholars	1 (6.26%)	5 (13.6%)	6 (11.2%)
Number of Wills	16	38	54

The general trend for testators to concentrate their benefaction upon the poor after 1549 is clear, although the persistence of Catholic forms of preamble, and of requests for prayers for the dead, suggests that a considerable proportion of the testators who have left no explicit religious bequests may have entertained essentially traditional conceptions of their almsgiving. At the same time, it is apparent that as a secondary effect of the abolition of nearly all traditional forms, the range of other pious bequests was narrowing to focus upon the provision of sermons, the support of scholars at the universities, and the basic requirements of maintaining the fabric of the church building. The old bequest of a token sum, usually to the high altar, for unpaid tithes was in decline, and would disappear completely under Elizabeth. The rare exceptions, such as Alderman Sir Thomas Offley's will of 1580,⁵⁹ invariably seem to have been

⁵⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/64, fo. 298^r.

religious conservatives, although before the 1560s it is difficult to discern any reliable link between the practice and the precise religious position of a testator.

Thus, the foundation of the hospitals of Christ's and St. Thomas's, the great godly endeavour of the City on behalf of the poor image of Christ on earth, allowed the rulers' religious convictions to produce a unity of action in harmony with the religious preoccupations of the Protestant regime. It is clear that the foundation was regarded as an essentially religious act, and preachers were provided from the beginning to maintain the worship of God in the houses in an appropriately Protestant style.⁶⁰ The hospitaller of St. Bartholomew's was charged, in the order published for the hospital in 1552, with ministering to the sick 'the wholesome and necessary doctrine of God's comfortable Word'.⁶¹ Bishop Nicholas Ridley was fulsome in his praise of the aldermen who had worked with him in founding the 'truly religious houses' in place of the former monasteries. Writing his farewell letter to his friends in the City of London, Ridley was in no doubt of the sincerity of his former colleagues, having found 'no small humanity and gentleness as methought' among the 'worshipful' of the City, especially the Mayors Sir Rowland Hill, Sir Andrew Judde, Sir Richard Dobbes and Sir George Barne;

Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! Thou in thy year
didst win my heart for evermore for that honourable act, that
most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of
Christ's holy hospitals and truly religious houses, which by
thee, and through thee, were begun...to further the matter,

⁶⁰ *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 181; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VII, p. 559. It is interesting that Thomas Vicary believed a good surgeon '...be a good lyuer, and a keeper of the holy commaundements of God, of whom cometh al cunning and grace...with al his lymmes able to fulfil the good workes of the soule': Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, ed. F. J. & P. Furnivall (Early English Text Society, extra series, 53, 1888), p. 14.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the City before the aldermen alone, whome thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause...And thou, O Sir George Barnes! The truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but thou didst labour so to have perfected the work that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom.⁶²

This 'true charity' in behalf of 'the poor image of Christ', as the poor had been described in the City petition of 1539,⁶³ provided a religious bond between members of an elite increasingly affected by divergent religious opinions. With the avenues open for pious provision dwindling from the late 1530s, and particularly after 1549, the number of testators providing alms for the poor increased dramatically. In this context the original committee established in 1545 to provide for the poor of the City had included the evangelicals John Wiseman, Thomas Bacon and Stephen Kyrton, alongside the conservatives Humphrey Packington and William Garrard.⁶⁴ Thus St. Bartholomew's Hospital, established with few endowments in 1544, and fully endowed and granted to the City, along with Bethlem and the lands of the Grey Friars, by royal letters patent in the last weeks of Henry VIII's life, included both evangelicals and conservatives amongst its furtherers and its first governors.⁶⁵ In July 1547 a commission was assigned to receive the funds for the City's poor, given from 'the devotion of the people', composed of aldermen Bowes, Barne

⁶² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VII, p. 559.

⁶³ CLRO, Jor. 14, fo. 129^v.

⁶⁴ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 213. Thomas Berthelet, Stationer, John Royse, Mercer, and Augustine Hynde, Merchant Taylor, whose religious inclinations are not known for sure, were also appointed.

⁶⁵ *Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London* (London, 1863), pp. 4-7, 20-45.

and Hynde, and commoners William Rawlyns, Thomas Lodge and George Tadlowe.⁶⁶ In March 1548 Bowes was entrusted with the proceeds from the sale of the plate from the dissolved parishes of St. Nicholas Shambles and St. Ewen, out of which the new parish of Christ Church had been created.⁶⁷ Indeed, Bowes moved less than a month later that 'there myght be a brotherhed newly erecte of the poore thurroughout the hole Cytie', although nothing came of this suggestion.⁶⁸ In September 1548 Common Council resolved that the Court of Aldermen should from thenceforth elect 'from tyme to tyme when and as often as to theyme shall seame mete and expedyent' four aldermen and eight commoners to run the hospital, to stand for two years. Thomas Lodge and Thomas Bacon had been serving by that time for a year, and William Chester and Stephen Cobbe joined them in 1548.⁶⁹

Evangelical interests were strongly represented in the foundation of the Edwardian hospitals in the person of the printer Richard Grafton, and his colleague George Tadlowe,⁷⁰ yet Sir Martin Bowes played as great a role, while among those most active in maintaining the hospitals in their early years were Sir Richard Gresham, Sir Rowland Hill, Sir George Barne, Thomas Lodge and Thomas White, most of whom were Catholic in religion.⁷¹ Indeed Thomas White's foundation of St. John's College, Oxford under Mary represented a similar religious impulse to provide trained clergy, as Sir Walter Mildmay's foundation of the 'puritan seminary' of Emmanuel College,

⁶⁶ CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 334^v, 338^r.

⁶⁷ CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 420^v.

⁶⁸ CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 421^v-422^r.

⁶⁹ CLRO, Jor. 15, fo. 384^{r-v}; Rep. 11, fos. 472^v-473^r.

⁷⁰ J. A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton, Citizen and Grocer of London* (London, 1901), pp. 4-6, 28-29, 44

⁷¹ P. Slack, 'Social Policy and the Constraints of Government', in J. Loach & R. Tittler (eds), *The Mid-Tudor Polity c.1540-1560* (London, 1980), pp. 109-110.

Cambridge, under Elizabeth. The professional medical interest in the hospital governorships was represented by the two barber-surgeons, John Ayloffe and Thomas Vicary, both religious conservatives.⁷²

Sir Rowland Hill seems to have gained his subsequent reputation as the first Protestant lord mayor at this time, partly through his strong personal stand on enforcement of public morals: 'this mayor was a good minister of justice and a great punisher of adultery'.⁷³ In April 1550 he charged all wardmote inquests 'to sit and enquire of all misrule done...since Candlemass', and to present fresh indictments, over which he presided in person on numerous occasions. A hostile witness took a rather different view of the situation, attributing Hill's drive against moral corruption to lay taunting of married clergy. About twenty clergy had agreed on a speech, and one of them presented it to Archbishop Cranmer, in terms bewailing the wickedness of the City. Asked what their preferred course might be, one of them offered to preach before the mayor and aldermen on a Sunday, in the wake of which the Archbishop and the Mayor conversed on the matter for some time. The ultimate result was that the Mayor 'should cause each alderman to sit in his own ward with the deputies and parish clerks, and call the inhabitants before them'.⁷⁴

Yet in some senses Hill, like Dobbes and George Barne, was simply

⁷² John Ayloffe made his will in 1556, leaving his soul to Christ and the holy company of heaven. He made bequests to every priest singing masses in his parish, St. Michael Bassishaw, and left funds for the repairs of the chapel in Bridewell and for a vestment for the priest to sing mass there. His commitment to the idea of the hospitals is evident from his appointment of Richard Grafton as an executor and Sir Rowland Hill as overseer. Thomas Vicary made his will in January 1561 'humbly beseeching the blessed virgin Mary and all the blessed company of heaven to pray for me and with me': PRO, PROB. 11/38, fo. 186; 45, fo. 66^r.

⁷³ *Two London Chronicles from the Collections of John Stow*, ed. C. L. Kingsford (Camden Society, Miscellany 12, 1910), p. 45.

⁷⁴ *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England, written in Spanish by an unknown hand*, trans. & ed. M. A. Sharp Hume (London, 1889).

taking part in a more intense drive against moral corruption that might be paralleled throughout Western Europe. Hill's own reputation as a Protestant seems to have come from his role in moral correction and the coincidence of his mayoralty with the introduction of the first Edwardian Prayer Book service into the Guildhall Chapel.⁷⁵ The story was clearly in place by the late eighteenth century, enshrined in an inscription erected at the family seat in Shropshire, in 1795, by one of Hill's descendants.

...[He] was lord mayor of [London], in...*anno* 1549 and 1550; and was the first Protestant who filled that high office. Having embraced the principles of the Reformation, he zealously exerted himself in behalf of the Protestant cause; he exchanged this life for a better, a short while before the death of that pious young monarch [Edward VI], being aged nearly seventy years. For a considerable time previous to his decease, he gave up his mercantile occupations, that he might with more devotedness of heart, attend to the great concerns of another world.⁷⁶

This eulogy, which omits his active career throughout the Marian period and misdates Hill's death by nearly ten years, seems to have been followed in most of the standard biographical accounts.⁷⁷ Foxe has little to say of him, beyond his membership of the heresy commission of 1557,⁷⁸ unlike the attention he pays to other members of the Corporation such as John Machell and William Chester who did little more for the evangelical cause than express sympathy with their troubles. During the political

⁷⁵ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, p. 23.

⁷⁶ D. Hughson, *London; Being an Accurate History and Description of the British Metropolis and its Neighbourhood to Thirty Miles' Extent*, 6 vols. (London, 1805), II, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁷ *DNB*, s.n. Hill, Sir Rowland; A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of London*, 2 vols (London, 1908-13), II, p. 170; *House of Commons, 1509-1558*, s.n. Hill; J. Fines, *A Biographical Register of Early English Protestants and Others Opposed to the Roman Catholic Church*, 2 vols. (West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, 1985)

⁷⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VIII, pp. 301-303.

turmoil between the death of Edward and the proclamation of Mary as queen in London, the Corporation tried to steer the least dangerous line possible. Some of the most prominent evangelicals had counselled caution in 1549, most notably George Tadlowe, when the fall of Somerset threatened to bring down the precariously established religious regime.⁷⁹ The rulers of the City, and particularly the aldermen, were vulnerable through their own prominence. In June 1553 Richard Gerveys, whose religious allegiance is not known, requested that he be excused taking up his mayoralty 'until the world be better established'.⁸⁰ Lord Mayor Sir George Barne and Aldermen Sir John Gresham, Sir Andrew Judde and Sir Richard Dobbles, who had been coaxed by Northumberland into signing Edward VI's will settling the succession upon Jane Grey, were clearly deeply compromised.⁸¹ He, and other leading citizens were called to witness Northumberland's reconciliation to the Catholic faith after Mary had arrived as queen in the City.⁸²

Nevertheless, the religious duty to provide for the poor provided a framework within which a religiously divided City élite could act in concert on religious principles. As John Stow remarked, 'At once the propagation of religion, the execution of good policy, the exercise of charity, and the defence of the country, is best performed by towns and cities; and this civil life approacheth nearest to the shape of that

⁷⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, pp. 289-90; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 40-41; *Troubles Connected with the Prayer Book of 1549*, ed. N. Pocock (Camden Society, 37, 1884), p. 83; *Original Letters* I, p. 69.

⁸⁰ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 523.

⁸¹ *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, ed. J. G. Nicholls (Camden Society, 48, 1850), pp. 91-100.

⁸² Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 531.

mystical body whereof Christ is the head and man the members'.⁸³ In the same way the religious duty to obey the sovereign, which had been a central plank of the arguments used to support the Henrician and Edwardian changes in the Church,⁸⁴ meant that the City rulers steered an essentially pragmatic line in relation to power politics. The fundamental duties of the London magistrate were to serve the commonalty and obey the Crown: 'being considered of itself, certain it is, that in respect of the whole realm, London is but a citizen and no city, a subject and no free estate, an obedienciary and no place enowed with any distinct or absolute power'.⁸⁵ Thus, obedience to the Crown took precedence over individual religious preferences, and helped to ensure that religion did not divide the rulers politically. All but the most irreconcilable Protestants were able to continue their careers under Mary; the pious work of the hospitals went forward, with their Protestant face exchanged for Catholic.

The Reign of Mary

The brief support of the City for Queen Jane had compromised some of the rulers deeply. Lord Mayor Sir George Barne was in the embarrassing position of having to formally meet the queen at the City bars having signed Edward's letters patent debarring Mary and Elizabeth from the succession.⁸⁶ This may explain Barne's absence from the embassy sent to

⁸³ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 484.

⁸⁴ Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 106-108; Elton, *Policy and Police*, pp. 171-217; Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants*, pp. 60-65, 249-250.

⁸⁵ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 491. Cf. Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum, a Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*, ed. L. Alston (Cambridge, 1906), p. 41: '...these citizens and burgesses, be to serve the common wealth, in their cities and burrowes, or in corporate towns where they dwell':

⁸⁶ Wriothlesley, *Chronicle II*, pp. 93-94; *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 2.

present Mary with a hastily raised benevolence of £500, at Newhall in Essex. The ambassadors, Sir Martin Bowes, Sir Henry Huberthorn, the Recorder of London, Sheriff Thomas White and William Garrard are known to have been religious conservatives except for Huberthorn, whose religious position is unknown.⁸⁷ Barnes awaited Mary's arrival in London. He was perhaps in a better position than those who had signed the proclamation of Jane Grey as Queen. Richard Grafton, who had printed the proclamation of Jane as queen, and Edward Whitchurch, his long-time colleague in printing evangelical material since the 1530s, fell foul of Mary's prohibition of unlicensed printing in August 1553, and were exempted from the general coronation pardon issued in October, as, indeed, were Peter and Michael Locke, the evangelical sons of Sir William Locke.⁸⁸ The City's relations with the Crown had begun poorly and did not improve easily. Ten days after Mary's ceremonial procession through her City Gilbert Bourne, her chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross. 'The matter of his sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide',⁸⁹ and disorder ensued when 'certain leude and ill disposed persons made a hollowinge and suche a cryinge as "thou lyest"', until the sermon ended in turmoil when Bourne was dragged from the pulpit and someone in the crowd hurled a dagger at him: 'if my lord mer and my lord Cortenay ad not ben ther, ther had bene grett myscheyff done'. Mary reacted sharply, threatening the Mayor and alderman with withdrawal of the City's liberties should they prove unable to keep order in the capital.⁹⁰ The Crown's threat to take the liberties of the City into its own hands and

⁸⁷ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, pp. 91-92.

⁸⁸ Hughes & Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* II, nos. 390, 394.

⁸⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, pp. 391-392.

⁹⁰ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, p. 42; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 83; *Diary of Machyn*, p. 41.

depose the lord mayor was still regarded as significant by Stow at the end of the century,⁹¹ and in the short term put the City rulers in a highly delicate position.⁹² The next sermon at Paul's Cross was attended by the City companies in livery, the mayor and aldermen, and a two hundred-strong contingent of the guard to ensure there could be no repeat performance,⁹³ and the following day John Day, parson of St. Ethelburga Bishopsgate, was pilloried for 'heinous and seditious words against the queen' on the occasion of Bourne's sermon, 'and for the uproar there done'. Unrepentant, he was pilloried again two days later for further words against the queen.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, on 21 August the Mayor and fifty leading commoners were summoned to witness the Duke of Northumberland's confession of his heretical errors, and to attend mass in the Tower. Among those summoned whose names are recorded were Humphrey Baskerville, Mercer, Roger Hartop, Goldsmith, Thomas Locke, Mercer and Clement Newce, Mercer. All but Hartop were evangelicals, and the exercise seems to have represented not merely a means of discrediting Northumberland before those who had temporarily supported the usurpation of Jane Grey, but of making a religious statement; the great furtherer of the Protestant Reformation had been humbled in such a way that he could provide no rallying point before or after his execution.⁹⁵ With the City's liberties threatened, few of the rulers were

⁹¹ Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 498-500.

⁹² Wriothsley, *Chronicle* II, p. 98.

⁹³ *Diary of Machyn*, p. 41.

⁹⁴ *Diary of Machyn*, p. 42; Wriothsley, *Chronicle* II, pp. 100-101.

⁹⁵ *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 18-19, Wriothsley, *Chronicle* II, p. 100. Hartop left his soul 'unto almightie God, and to our lady Seint Marie the virgyn, and to all the holy comapany of heaven', in February 1556, but more interestingly appointed Alderman David Woodroffe, known as a zealous persecutor since the previous year, as his overseer: PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 175^{r-v}.

inclined to risk open opposition to the Marian regime. John Blundell, Mercer, commoner and MP stood against the restoration of Catholic worship in Mary's first parliament.⁹⁶ Sir Rowland Hill conspicuously did not, and it would appear that many of the evangelicals in the corporate government accommodated themselves to the new regime. John Sturgeon continued to serve as Chamberlain throughout Mary's reign. Richard Hilles was now a member of common council and was attending mass by 1554, to the despair of his servant William Salkyns, who wrote to Bullinger in some distress.⁹⁷ As always, obedience to the Crown entailed a close involvement in the implementation of Crown religious policy. In the wake of the re-establishment of the mass by proclamation, on December 20 1553,⁹⁸ the Corporation reverted to defending the sacrament of the altar as it had done at the beginning of Edward's reign. In May 1554 a reward of 20 marks was offered for information leading to the apprehension of the 'wretched and devilishly disposed person' who had hanged up a dead cat on the gallows in the parish of St. Matthew Cheapside with a shaven crown, dressed in vestment and holding a piece of paper like a singing cake between its forepaws 'in the manifest contempt and derision both of Christ's true religion the Catholic faith, and the holy and blessed sacrament of the altar'.⁹⁹

Equally, the aldermen were made directly responsible for enforcing the royal inhibition on unlicensed preaching. On the day after Dr. Bourne's eventful sermon at Paul's Cross, the privy council charged the Mayor and aldermen with calling common council, and having every

⁹⁶ *House of Commons 1509-1558*, s.n. Blundell, John.

⁹⁷ *Original Letters*, I, p. 345-348.

⁹⁸ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, p. 542 (not printed in Hughes & Larkin).

⁹⁹ CLRO, Jor. 16, fo. 285^v.

householder 'to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep to their own parish churches upon the holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt anything to the violating of the common peace'. The aldermen themselves were to call for every curate in their own wards 'and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of scriptures, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen'.¹⁰⁰

On 4 March 1554 the Crown issued a set of religious injunctions restoring all religious rites and practices abrogated since the reign of Henry VIII, and, aware of the significance of the coming Easter for the recently restored religion, directed Bishop Bonner to have all the curates of his diocese certify the names of such parishioners as failed to attend the Lent confession and did not receive the sacrament at Easter.¹⁰¹ A similar prescript was sent to the Lord Mayor, who on 4 March 1554 directed the aldermen to assemble every householder in their wards before them:

...for your own discharge and for the eschewing the perils that to ~~you~~ might otherwise be justly imputed and laid do not only straitly, admonish, charge and command in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, all and every of them do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently and catholicly, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people...concerning the true faith, profession and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws of almighty God and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen...that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons...[who]...transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premisses, at their utmost perils; and that ye immediately after such notice therof to you given, do forthwith advertise us therof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye

¹⁰⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, p. 392.

¹⁰¹ *Tudor Royal Proclamations* II, no. 407; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, p. 426

will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen
for the contrary, at your like peril.¹⁰²

Twelve days later all householders, with their wives and servants were commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and were warned to 'prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the City, until Easter was past'.¹⁰³

Individually and as a body, the aldermen were expected to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities; in the wake of Wyatt's rebellion an apprentice named Robert Cutt was heard indulging in rash speech regarding the progress of Wyatt's trial. Bishop Gardiner of Winchester sent Sir Andrew Judde to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to bring Cut to Star Chamber.¹⁰⁴ Thomas Curtes, alderman of the ward of Farringdon Within, committed the nineteen year-old John Leaf to the Bread Street Compter in 1555, for denial of the mass. On 1 July Leaf was burned with John Bradford in Smithfield.¹⁰⁵ The rulers might deplore the conduct of some of the Marian clergy in their pursuit of heresy. Gardiner and Weston had attempted to implicate the princess Elizabeth in Wyatt's rebellion, by rebutting Wyatt's confession clearing the princess. Informed of Weston's conduct, the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas White remarked 'in sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave', while Sir Martin Bowes, dining with him, expressed equal surprise at the news.¹⁰⁶ Yet this need imply little more

¹⁰² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 429.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 548.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

¹⁰⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VII, pp. 192-195.

¹⁰⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 431. White, indeed, had presided over the trial of the Wyatt rebels, and had sat on the commission established to try Jane Grey: *DNB*, s.n. Sir Thomas White.

than an expression of distate for improper tricks against those of high social station. Nicholas Ridley, speaking of Mary and Elizabeth's bastardy just before Edward VI's death: '...alle the pepull was sore anoyd with hys worddes, soo uncherytabulle spokyne by hym in soo opyne ane awdiens'.¹⁰⁷

The restoration of Catholicism meant the return of Catholic civic ceremonial. With the arrival of Philip of Spain as king in July 1554, 'was commaundment gevyn in London to have bonfyers and belles ryngynge thorow alle Londone'.¹⁰⁸ The civic procession to the cathedral on the anniversary of St. Paul's conversion, one of the great civic religious celebrations, had been abrogated in 1550 during the mayoralty of Sir Rowland Hill, ostensibly because of the death of his wife.¹⁰⁹ In January 1555 it was revived, the Mayor, aldermen and liverymen of the City companies participating in the procession, preceeded by 160 singing priests and clerks and eight bishops, among whom Bishop Bonner carried the pyx under a canopy,¹¹⁰ while public celebrations were arranged to mark the reconciliation of England with the Papal See. The Mayor issued a proclamation on behalf of Philip and Mary:

we straightly charge and command you that ye may immediately upon the receipt and sight hereof, in token and manifest declaration of the great joy and gladness that you and we and all good Christian people, through the great goodness and mercy of almighty God have lately received and had, by reason of the abolishment and extirpation of sundry great sysmes, error and heresies, lately sprung up and arisen within this our said sovereign lord and lady's realm of England, and the good and quiet renovation and restitution of true and Catholic faith of Christ and his holy religion within the same realm whereat all Christian regions to rejoyce; and cause this

¹⁰⁷ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁸ *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁹ Wriothesley, *Chronicle II*, p. 25.

¹¹⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 588; *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 94; *Diary of Machyn*, p. 80.

present afternoon bonfires to be made throughout all your wards in all the sundry parishes and places of the same ward according to the ancient accustomed manner in that behalf in such cases heretofore used. Fail ye not hereof as ye tender our said sovereign lord and lady's good pleasure and favours, and as ye will answer for the contrary at your peril.¹¹¹

There may have been an element of compulsion here; it cannot have been expected that the traditional forms of spontaneous public celebration would revive so soon after the papal obedience had been in abeyance for twenty years. Yet there had been signs from the earliest days of the reign that a sizeable proportion of the local parish élites genuinely welcomed the new order. Mary had formally entered her capital on 3 August 1553. The same month the high altar was re-erected in St. Paul's, completed in September.¹¹² On 27 August, at the unfinished high altar, 'there was high mass sung in Latin with both matins and evensong likewise in Latin. And divers churches in London had the like service'.¹¹³ According to Wriothesley public masses had begun three days earlier; 'the olde service in the Lattin tongue with the masse was begun and sunge in Powles in the Shrowdes, now St. Faythes parishe. And likewise it was begun in 4 or 5 other parishes within the Cittie of London, not by commaundement but of the peoples devotion'. One of those parishes was St. Nicholas Olave, the last parish to topple its altars under Edward, and the home of the deeply conservative Thomas Lewen.¹¹⁴ In October, with the meeting of convocation, the first mass was sung at the rebuilt high altar in St. Paul's, and on St. Andrew's Day 'begane the generalle procession in Latten in Powlle's church, with the parsons and curattes of London, with the

¹¹¹ CLRO, Jor. 16, fo. 321^v.

¹¹² *Grey Friars Chronicle*, p. 84.

¹¹³ *Two London Chronicles*, p. 29 (27 August 1553).

¹¹⁴ Wriothesley, *Chronicle II*, p. 101; *Diary of Machyn*, p. 42.

prebenttes in their gray ammes, and the mayer with dyvers of the aldermen'.¹¹⁵ Indeed, by this time the funeral services of the City rulers were reverting to fully Catholic forms. Sir Martin Bowes' wife was buried with the traditional dirige, followed the next day by a requiem mass in Latin.¹¹⁶

The 'devotion of the people', or at least some of the City rulers, is most clearly seen in the Marian resurgence of Catholic testamentary activity. Robert Downe, Ironmonger, endowed a perpetual obit in August 1556, requesting that his company be present at the mass.¹¹⁷ Benet Jackson left 6s. 8d. to the high altar of St. Clement Danes 'to the honor of the blessed sacrament', and 40s. 'to the mayntenaunce of the ornamentes of the said churche', in August 1555, besides £4 to the poor friars of Greenwich 'to the mayntenaunce and contynewaunce of prayer and Gode's servyce theire'.¹¹⁸

The preamble to Alderman Sir John Champneys' will, dated 28 July 1556, illustrates the mood of compliance with the restored Catholic Church that informed the wills of many Marian testators;

I, Sir John Champneys, knight and alderman of the City of London...forasmuch as I am now quiet both in my body and also mind, with good remembrance, intending, God willing, to dispose and devise *for the health, wealth and comfort of my soul*, and not to prolong and tract the time till almighty God shall visit me with grievous sickness and disease, by reason whereof my body should be tormented and put in great agony, and also assaulted with the terrible and sharp pangs of death, which every living creature must obey, abide and suffer, as it is written 'statutum est omnibus hominibus semel mori', and the same self body shall rise again as St. Paul writeth in the xvth chapter of his first epistle unto the Corinthians 'de

¹¹⁵ Wricthesley Ch e II p 8

¹¹⁶ *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 46-47.

¹¹⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fos. 11^r-12^r.

¹¹⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 263^{r-v}.

resurrectione mortuorum' etc. etc. And to th'intent I may rise spiritually in grace and be sett on the right hand of our saviour Christ, therefore I now devise, dispose, make and ordain this my present testament and last will in manner and form following. First I bequeath my soul to almighty God which created it, and the same, with shedding of the most precious blood of his sweet son Jesus Christ, our saviour, did redeem it, humbly and in most lowly manner desiring him of his most infinite mercy and grace to have and take pity, compassion and mercy thereof, and that it may please his majesty to put it in his celestial glory to the which it was made and created, for the laud and praise of his most holy name. For I steadfastly believe in the blessed Trinity, the father, the son and the holy ghost, *and all that holy church willeth me to believe.* And in most humble manner I beseech my most blessed sweet saviour and lord, Jesus Christ, to keep and preserve me in perfect grace, that I may have strength and power to withstand and resist all wicked temptations, and that I may persevere to the end of my life in his holy belief, *so that I may die in perfect faith, hope and charity, whereby my soul may be saved, Amen.*¹¹⁹

The writer of the will was William Pierson, apprentice of William Carkke, yet the preamble was apparently of Champneys' own devising. The common conception of the will as a moral and religious duty is clearly linked with a Catholic sense of salvation; the very act of making the will tended towards the salvation of the soul.

The will of Thomas Lewen, who had resigned his aldermanry in 1546, betrays little hint that there had been any Protestant hiatus whatsoever. On 16 April 1554 Lewen left his soul to God, the Virgin and the Saints, and left the traditional bequest to the high altar of his parish, St. Nicholas Olave in Bread Street, in discharge of his soul. He left further sums to the repairs of the old works of St. Paul's, to the fraternity of the Name of Jesus there, in anticipation of its revival, and to repairing the ornaments in his parish church.¹²⁰ The motives he expressed for his almsgiving are equally significant: to five poor honest women in the honour

¹¹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/38, fo. 148 [my italics].

¹²⁰ Similar provisions are to be found in the will of Robert Reynolds, Fishmonger, dated 10 February 1558: PRO, PROB. 11/40, fos. 107^r-108^r.

of God and the Virgin, to twelve honest poor men in the honour of God and the twelve apostles, and to 9 poor men in honour of the Nine Orders of Angels. At his dirige and mass priests, clerks and children were to sing in honour of God and for the wealth of Lewen's soul and all Christian souls, while twelve new torches were to burn at the service in honour of God.¹²¹ A torchlit month's mind was to be followed by the distribution of the twelve torches, six to remain in St. Nicholas Olave, to burn at the elevation of the host, the other six to be given to the poorest parish churches in London. Lewen's wife Agnes was left the residual estate to distribute for Lewen's soul and those of his father and mother.

Lewen also set aside some of his landed property for religious purposes in a fully traditional manner. The priest Thomas Acreke, formerly a monk of the monastery of Sawtry in Huntingdonshire was one of Lewen's tenants, and was given the tenement he rented from the alderman, while the observants of Greenwich also received a benefaction. Indeed, a friar from the Greenwich house preached at his funeral on 14 June.¹²² After the death of Agnes, Lewen's lands and tenements were left to the Ironmongers' Company in order to maintain a priest to sing mass daily, or at least four times a week, in St. Nicholas Olave, for his soul, those of his father and mother, and those for whom he was bound to pray himself. The priest was required to attend church every Sunday and holy day attired in a surplice, and was to hold a Master's degree at least so that he might make, or have someone else make, four sermons a year in the parish church 'if any such priest can be had'. A new tenement was to be built in the parish churchyard for the priest, while the master and wardens of the Ironmongers

¹²¹ Machyn records that Lewen's directions were carried out to the letter: *Diary of Machyn*, p. 91.

¹²² *Diary of Machyn*, p. 91.

were to keep an annual obit for Lewen's soul, where bread and cheese would be distributed to the poor. They were also obliged to maintain two wax tapers on the altar, besides a lamp which was to burn at the sacring of the altar. All these arrangements were to continue until the monastery at Sawtry should be refounded 'of the same rule and religion as before', at which time they were to be transferred to Sawtry on the same terms. Other lands were left to the provost and fellows of Eton College, on condition that they, too, keep an obit for Lewen's soul.¹²³

Lady Bowes, wife of Aldermen Sir Martin Bowes, was buried with dirige and a morrow mas of requiem in Latin two months before the official restoration of the mass.¹²⁴ Bowes himself had the rood screen, images and rood of his parish church, St. Mary Woolnoth, regilded in 1556. His plans to establish a chantry in his parish of birth in York were frustrated by the financial pressure of providing for his seven living children, but in 1557 he gave an altar cloth to his London parish. Ultimately, in 1561, he diverted funds he had set aside for religious purposes into provision for the poor, although his will as it stands remains a clearly Catholic document.¹²⁵

Sir Henry Amcottes, alderman since 1536, founded perpetual chantries in London and Lincolnshire in September 1554, and made provision for a traditional Catholic funerary ceremony, prayers for his soul, a dirige and morrow mass.¹²⁶ Common Councilman John Lowen, Draper, left his soul to 'almighty God my maker and creator, and to his only son our lord, my

¹²³ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 222; *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem Relating to the City of London, Returned into the Court of Chancery*, ed. G. S. Fry, 3 vols. (British Record Society, 15, 26 and 36, 1896-1908), I, pp. 169-170.

¹²⁴ *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 46-47.

¹²⁵ *House of Commons 1509-1558*, s.n. Bowes, Sir Martin.

¹²⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 67; *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 68, 70-71.

saviour, in whom and by the merits of whose blessed death and passion is all my whole trust of clear remission and forgiveness of all my sins, and to our Lady St. Mary the Virgin, and all the holy company of heaven'. He left twenty shillings to the Black Friars, reestablished in St. Bartholomew's the Great 'to the intent they shall pray for my soul', and forty shillings to the Observants of Greenwich. Lowen was unfortunate that although the will was made in October 1557, he died on 31 August 1559, and the will was not proved until near the end of October; his religious bequests will have enriched the coffers of the Crown rather than his soul.¹²⁷ George Medley, Mercer and former chamberlain of the City, required the recipients of his charity 'to praye for all Christen soules', while Thomas Clayton provided for an annual dole of ale, bread and cheese to poor householders of his parish at his obit.¹²⁸

These testators seem to have participated in a determined lay attempt to re-establish the traditional lay pieties as fully as possible, yet the impact of Henrician and Edwardian destruction is clearly visible in bequests towards the repair of ornaments, and the provisional nature of many pious bequests. Thomas Clayton, Baker, provides clear evidence of the caution that the Edwardian period had engendered in even the most Catholic of Marian testators. In March 1555 he left a bakehouse and two tenements to the Company of Whitebakers to provide for an annual obit in the parish church of St. Mary at Hill 'that is to saye placebo and dirige on the even and masse of requiem on the morowe then next ensuyng', along with an annual distribution of ale, bread and cheese to the poor attending the obit.¹²⁹ However Clayton was well aware of the precedent of the previous reign.

¹²⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/42B, fo. 357; *London Inquisitions Post Mortem*, I, pp. 30-32.

¹²⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fos. 75^r-v; 170^r (23 March 1555).

¹²⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 169^v.

And yf it happen that by the lawes of this realm, hereafter to be made, th'obervation of the said yerely anniversary or obit overnight and masse of requiem on the morowe may not nor shall not be allowed and suffered to be used, kept and doon in maner and forme above willed and declared, as of late yeres in the tyme of kinge Edward the Sixte the praying for the deade and all ceremonyes for and concernyng the same in the said maner and forme to be used were abrogated and disallowed

then the same bequests were to go ahead with the sums set aside for the performance of the obit diverted to provide a 'potacion' for the master and wardens of the Company. Clayton's fears extended to his bequests to Christ's hospital, which he made conditional in the eventuality that the house be closed down and the orphans ejected.¹³⁰

There are some signs that in the more Christocentric atmosphere of Marian Catholicism, and perhaps partly as a result of the years of Protestant preaching against the worship of idols, testators were placing greater emphasis on the intercessory role of the Virgin and saints. Roger Horton left his soul 'vnto almyghtie God my maker and redemer, by whom and by the merytts of whose glorious passion, death and mightie resurreccion, throughe the intercession of his glorious mother our blessed Lady saynt Marye and all the holye compagne of heaven, I faithfully truste to haue clere remission and forgyvennes of my synnes', in October 1556.¹³¹

Indeed, the wording of some wills assumed forms more common after 1560. Thomas Hunt, Skinner, executor to George Crowche and a good friend of Richard Hilles, left little to religious causes, except for the provision of a funeral sermon 'to the lawde and prayse of God, and to the edifying of the congregacion that shalbe there present' and the bequest of £20 to poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge 'to be delivered to the hands

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, fo. 170^r.

¹³¹ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fo. 53^v.

of some honest vertuous man to distribute the same'.¹³² Yet the preamble to his will, dated 1 July 1557, is closer to the forms characteristic of the altered patterns of testamentary behaviour in the Elizabethan period.

Ffirst and principally I comytt my soule to the most holly and blessed trinitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy gooste, thre personnes and one God; which of mere mercy and inestimabell goodnes sent into the world the second person in trinitie our lord and saviour Jesus Christ, to redeme with his precious blode mankynde owght of his syns, thoroughe the which redemption I beleve and hope sewarly to have clere remission and forgyvenes of all my synnes, and that he will rase me up agayne at the latter daye, and give my soule and body everlasting lif, for the merytts' sake of my onely saviour and redemer Jhus Christ, to whome with the holly goost be all honor and glory, world without ende, sobeyt.¹³³

Hunt's worldly goods were to be distributed 'to the honour of God and comforte of suche as hereafter be specified'. There is nothing here objectionable to Catholic or evangelical sensibilities, but there is no mention of the souls of the departed, and the testator's goods were to be divided to the honour of God, and for the worldly profit of the living, not the spiritual profit of the dead.

The problem of identifying Catholic religious devotion in the wills of the Marian rulers is significantly greater than for the latter years of Henry. This is partly due to the fact that all testators were gradually adopting an altered pattern of bequest, which concentrated more heavily on the sermon and upon charity to the poor, of City parishes and in the hospitals. A few testators contented themselves with fairly low-key bequests. Michael Haythewaite reveals himself as traditionally Catholic in his desire for burial in October 1557 'under the aulter of our Lady and Saincte Anne', while he left £10 to his parish church of St. Bennet Fink

¹³² PRO, PROB. 11/42B, fos. 107^v, 110^r.

¹³³ Ibid., fo. 107^r

'to be employed aboute the furniture and reparacionnes of the same church as shalbe thought moste needefull'. He appointed his friend, the staunch Catholic scrivener Richard Maunsell, an executor.¹³⁴ Maunsell, 'sycke of body neverthesse strong and stedfast in the holy Catholique faythe', left his soul to God, Christ, the Virgin and the saints, but made no characteristically Catholic religious bequests. Yet we know he was himself strongly conservative from the fact that he left £5 'to the reverend father in God Edmund, Bysshope of London, my singuler good lord', and made arrangements for the division of his estate should his sons enter religion or the priesthood.¹³⁵

Humphrey Collet, Bowyer, left twenty shillings to his parish church, St. Saviour's Southwark 'towardses the mayntenaunce of Godde's service' in October 1558.¹³⁶ In February 1554 Roger Hartop, Goldsmith, left his soul 'unto almightie God, and to our lady Seint Marie the virgyn, and to all the holy company of heaven', while making the zealously Catholic alderman David Woodroffe overseer of his will, but made no further religious provisions.¹³⁷ The relative caution of known Catholics in making extensive religious bequests in the Marian period, however, is as nothing compared with the caution displayed under Elizabeth, while a significant proportion of the wills made in the Marian period betray little evidence of any particular form of religious devotion other than that the testator

¹³⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fos. 354^r-356^r.

¹³⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/42A, fos. 401^v-403^v. Maunsell had written George Medley's will in 1554.

¹³⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 175^r-^v.

¹³⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/42A, fo. 122^v.

was a Christian.¹³⁸

The efficiency of the Marian religious regime meant that the evangelicals were in no position to declare their religious convictions through their testaments. Thomas Locke made no religious bequests in his will of March 1554, except for insisting that his executors 'shall not in any wise bestowe above twentie poundes in all' at his funeral, although a sermon was preached at his funeral by Henry Pendleton, the recently reconverted Catholic parson of St. Stephen Walbrook, whose sermon at Paul's Cross over in 1554 was interrupted when someone in the crowd fired a gun at him.¹³⁹ The altar-breaking Hugh Mynors was sergeant-at-arms to the King and Queen by the time he made his own will in April 1557, and had conformed enough to request burial 'before the trenytie alter' in the parish church of Aldenham, where he then resided. Yet he too made no further religious bequests other than that of 20 shillings 'to the reparacions of the churche'.¹⁴⁰ George Tadlow went so far as to leave seven processional banners of silk to his parish church, St. Magnus, when he died in 1557.¹⁴¹

The pressures upon the evangelicals were considerable. By November 1554, nearly a year after the restoration of the mass, William Salkyns, servant of Richard Hilles, was writing to Bullinger to ask if he would insert in the letter 'which he intends to write to my master, a few words

¹³⁸ E.g. PRO, PROB. 11/37, fo. 276 (Henry Herdson, 9 December 1555); 40, fos. 117^r-118^r (William James, Cutler, 20 February, 1557); 42A, fos. 208^r-210^v (Henry Barnes, Grocer, 14 December 1557); 41, fos. 139^r-140^r (Robert Dawbeney, 21 June 1558).

¹³⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/38, fos. 180^r-181^r. Locke entrusted the disposition of his lands and real estate to his 'lovinge brethren and frendes' John Cosworth, Thomas Stacey and Anthony Hickman, making the latter his chief executor. For Pendelton see *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 65, 117; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 577-578.

¹⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fo. 178^v

¹⁴¹ PRO, PROB. 11/39, fo. 168^r.

upon fleeing from the abomination of the mass, (by the frequenting of which in England my master is now placing his soul in jeopardy), the result would be...he will...consider how he can flee away from such abominable idolatry'.¹⁴² Writing from prison, John Hooper recommended the use of gatherings of the faithful in sustaining their strength, but such a course had its perils, even if it did not represent the public declarations of faith that Hooper and Foxe regarded as the true duty of the persecuted Protestant.¹⁴³ Rose Hickman related the perils of maintaining an evangelical household as the situation grew more untenable for the godly throughout 1554. Her husband Anthony Hickman, and Rose's brother Thomas Locke had entertained John Hooper, John Foxe and John Knox 'and divers other godly preachers, of which some did afterward suffer martirdom in Queene Marye's dayes', during the reign of Edward.¹⁴⁴ Her account of the position of the evangelicals, and the effects of the proclamations enforced by the corporation at Easter 1554, are revealing.

When Queene Mary came to the crown the idolatrous masse was et up with publique profession of popery throughout this realme...At which time we did receive into our house in the cittie of London divers godly and well disposed Christians that were desirous to shelter themselves from the cruell persecution of those times. And we and they did table together in a chamber, keeping the doores close shut for feare of the promotours...But then there came forth a very strict proclamation, enjoyning all to come to church and receive the sacrament after the popish fashion: after which proclamation we durst no longer keep our house, but my husband used meanes to convey away the preachers and other good Christians (that were in our house) beyond sea...¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² *Original Letters*, I, pp. 345-346.

¹⁴³ J. W. Martin, 'The Protestant Underground Congregations of Mary's Reign', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35 (1984), pp. 519-538.

¹⁴⁴ *Recollections of Rose Hickman*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

Both Anthony Hickman and Thomas Locke found themselves in the Fleet prison for their pains, where they kept themselves informed of events in the outside world by communication with the imprisoned jurors who had failed to find Sir Nicholas Throckmorton guilty of complicity in the Wyatt rebellion: 'these jurymen being all merchants of London had compassion uppon the distresse of my husband and brother'.¹⁴⁶ After his release, Hickman left the country for Antwerp, soon to be joined by his wife. Thomas, according to Rose, could not accompany them because his wife would not consent to leave, and he remained in England. 'Being constreyned for feare of further trouble to fashion himself outwardly to the popish religion in some sort, [he] was so greeved in mynde thereat, that he died shortlie after with seven of his children'. Antwerp, however, proved a safe haven, where the governor of the English merchant adventurers was prepared to turn a blind eye to Hickman's religious preferences, and he and Rose remained in the town safely until Mary's death allowed them to return to England.¹⁴⁷

If there was any overt resistance to the Marian regime among London's rulers, it came in the aftermath of Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, which began in January 1554 and was defeated outside London in February.¹⁴⁸ The context of the rebellion lay in fears of the consequences of Mary's marriage to Philip of Spain, and it seems clear that for some, at least, the cause of religion was intimately interconnected with the marriage.¹⁴⁹ On 17 April 1554 Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was arraigned in London for

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 99-100.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., pp. 100-102.

¹⁴⁸ D. M. Loades, *Two Tudor Conspiracies* (Cambridge, 1965); *The Reign of Mary Tudor, Politics, Government and Religion in England 1553-58*, 2nd ed. (London, 1991), pp. 76-81.

¹⁴⁹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 536-545.

treason through complicity in the Wyatt rebellion, but unlike most Tudor state trials, he was ultimately acquitted.¹⁵⁰ Mary's suspicions of London had been fanned by the defection in February of the City's militia to Wyatt at the instigation of a captain sympathetic to evangelical religion,¹⁵¹ and her reaction to Throckmorton's acquittal was to imprison the jury, *empaneled* from among the leading citizens of London. The trial had indeed possessed strong religious overtones; the Spanish ambassador believed the jury was composed of heretics, while John Bradford, martyred in July 1555, saw the outcome of the trial as an evangelical victory against the papal Goliath.¹⁵²

Throckmorton had been an early supporter of Mary, but had clearly sacrificed his own religious convictions in defence of the rightful succession, and sent news of Edward's death to Mary immediately upon learning of the plot to proclaim Jane as queen:

And, though I lik'd not the religion
Which all her life queene Marye hadd profest,
Yett in my mind that wicked motion
Right heires to displace I did detest.
Causeless to proffer any injurie.
I meant it not, but sought for remedie.¹⁵³

Throckmorton had exercised his right to challenge nominated jurors, and had objected to ten, while for the queen only two were challenged, the evangelical Thomas Bacon, Salter, and Geoffrey Walkeden.¹⁵⁴ Dr. Brigden

¹⁵⁰ *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, ed. W. Cobbett, T. B. Howell *et al*, 42 vols. (1816-98), I, pp. 869-899.

¹⁵¹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 541-542.

¹⁵² *CSP Sp.* XII, p. 228; *The Writings of John Bradford*, ed. A. Townsend (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1848), pp. 405-407; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VII, pp. 192-193.

¹⁵³ *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *State Trials* I, p. 871.

has suggested that Sheriff Thomas Offley may have helped arrange for Throckmorton's acquittal by providing a sympathetic jury drawn from the evangelical network in London.¹⁵⁵ Offley was acquainted with some of the leading evangelicals, belonging to the same Company as Richard Hilles, and had helped individuals to escape execution after the collapse of Wyatt's rebellion, and probably arranged for the flight into exile of his younger brother Hugh in 1554. But it is clear that whatever Hugh's religious stance by the time he died in 1594, he bought a pardon from Mary by acting as an informer on the community of English exiles in France.¹⁵⁶ In the light of Offley's reputation in the 1560s as a harbourer of popish priests and a secret attender at masses, it is difficult to sustain the notion that he was in any way a sustainer of evangelical religion in Mary's reign.¹⁵⁷

Of the twelve jurors finally chosen, Emmanuel Lucar, Merchant Taylor, had witnessed Edward's letters patent cutting Mary and Elizabeth out of the succession. Humphrey Baskerville was closely connected with Richard Hilles, the Elizabethan commoner John Jackson, who regarded 'that to be the true church of God...whiche church retaineth and useth the two sacraments', baptism and communion,¹⁵⁸ and the Marian religious exiles, Thomas Heton and Anthony Hickman.¹⁵⁹ Edward Banks, Haberdasher, had married Jane Packington, of Robert and Augustine Packington's family, and her father, Sir Thomas was a friend of Baskerville.¹⁶⁰ Roger Martin,

¹⁵⁵ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 552-553.

¹⁵⁶ C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: a Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 240.

¹⁵⁷ PRO, SP. 15/25, fo. 118.

¹⁵⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/67, fo. 133^v, dated 10 April 1579.

¹⁵⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/47, fos. 65^r-67^v.

¹⁶⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/48, fo. 431^v.

Mercer, was the nephew of the traditionalist Roger Martin of Long Melford in Suffolk, but his friendship with Anthony Hickman led him to provide for his orphans, in 1573, while he provided for twenty sermons in the Mercers' chapel and was a resident of the strongly Protestant parish of St. Antholin's.¹⁶¹ John Calthorp 'indued with godliness' along with Richard Grafton and his fellow commoner John Marsh had helped in the foundation of the royal hospitals, and in 1559 still harboured a deep resentment against the juror John Pointer who had submitted to correction and escaped gaol.¹⁶² William Beswick, Draper requested the famous Marian exile Thomas Becon to preach for him in 1567.¹⁶³ Indeed, Beswick, Baskerville, Banks, and Martin were elected aldermen at, or soon after, the end of Mary's reign and provided a solid body of support for the Elizabethan religious changes.

Yet there seems to have been little further overt resistance on the part of the evangelicals among London's rulers. The imprisoned reformers awaiting martyrdom in London and Oxford received gifts of food, money and clothing from well-wishers in the City. John Hooper wrote letters to 'all my dear brethren, my relievers and helpers in the City of London', and to 'a merchant of London, by whose means he had received much comfort in his great necessity in the Fleet'.¹⁶⁴ George Heton, Chamberlain of London in succession to John Sturgeon, was a correspondent of John Bradford early in 1555, and with his brother Thomas was one of the 'sustainers' of the

¹⁶¹ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 37-39; *Visitation of London*, 1568, pp. 34-35; PRO, PROB. 11/56, fos. 2^r-4^r. Martin also left £100 to poor scholars of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge.

¹⁶² J. Howes, *Contemporaneous Account in Dialogue-form of the Foundation and Early History of Christ's Hospital and of Bridewell and St. Thomas' Hospital* (London, 1889), pp. 13-14, 17-18; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 627.

¹⁶³ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 108^r.

¹⁶⁴ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, pp. 670-672, 673, VII, pp. 198-201, 725-728.

Protestant cause in 1554.¹⁶⁵ Thomas, however, went into exile in 1554, returning to England in 1559 to be elected to common council.¹⁶⁶ Richard Springham, Mercer, left for the continent in the same year as Heton, again in 1559 to take up a post in the City's common council. Springham was closely associated with the Lockes, being appointed executor to Sir William's widow in 1551, and embarking upon an attempt to establish a silk manufacturing venture in England with Michael Locke in 1559.¹⁶⁷ Unlike Anthony Hickman, who was careful to choose a place of exile whence he might pursue his mercantile interests, Heton and Springham, and later John Baker, Cordwainer, fled to the cities of Strasburg and Zurich.¹⁶⁸ This common bond with the exiled clergy would have a considerable impact upon the development of lay religious belief in the Elizabethan period, not least in the emergence of a strong puritan presence among the City rulers by the early 1580s.

John Sturgeon and George Heton remained active in City affairs throughout the Marian period. Richard Hilles and Thomas Locke were forced to maintain an outward appearance of conformity to avoid persecution. For others the duties of civic office imposed a more severe test, although fewer rulers seem to have attempted to evade office than had done so in Edward's reign. The Marian martyrdoms were small in number compared to the persecutions carried out in the Netherlands, but their concentration in and around London made them highly significant for the population of the metropolis, and particularly the City rulers who had to conduct them. Seventy five persons were executed for heresy in the environs of the City

¹⁶⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VII, p. 254; Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 182-183.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

between February 1555 and June 1558, twenty nine in Smithfield itself.¹⁶⁹ All of the executions within the boundaries of the City were conducted by the sheriffs, a situation which put enormous stress upon the evangelical rulers bound by the obligations of office to comply with Crown directions for persecution.

The sheriffs for 1554-55, officiating at the first martyrdoms of the reign, were David Woodroffe and William Chester;

Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgement and religion, that the one (that is, master Woodrofe), was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people. And whereas the other was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned, the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself.¹⁷⁰

Foxe illustrated the different behaviour of the two men at several of the martyrdoms, and dwelt gloatingly on the miserable death of Woodroffe.¹⁷¹

Chester himself appears to have been one of the 'sustainers', who did their best to mitigate the effects of persecution upon the evangelical community. Lawrence Saunders, martyred at Coventry in February 1555, had been apprenticed to Chester who 'perceiving...his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his indenture, so set him free'.¹⁷² Saunders' theological studies ultimately

¹⁶⁹ Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 606-620; Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 293-301; cf. Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 219-234.

¹⁷⁰ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VII, pp. 194-195.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 609-611, 652; VII, pp. 82, 148; VIII, p. 632.

¹⁷² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VI, p. 612.

led him to imprisonment under Mary with John Cardmaker in the Bread Street Compter, the sheriffs prison, although he took the opportunity to preach to the parishioners of his benefice, Allhallows Bread Street, from the prison window, 'as before out of a pulpit'.¹⁷³

Thomas Lodge, John Machell and John Hawes were also listed by Foxe as suffering limited persecution through being supposed to favour evangelical religion.¹⁷⁴ Machell came under some suspicion as a result of his activities as sheriff. John Philpot, incarcerated in Newgate Prison in 1555, could not persuade the keeper of the gaol, to remove his irons:

wherefore master Philpot said to his man, "Go to master sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire master sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him. And when they came to master sheriff (which was master Macham [Machell]), and showed him how master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with master Philpot's man, and bade go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently...Alexander took the ring and said "Ah, I perceive that master sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore tomorrow I will show it to his betters".¹⁷⁵

Machell seems to have suffered no repercussions from the incident, and Philpot's irons were removed. It seems difficult to conclude from this incident that Machell was certainly evangelical in religion; when he made his will in July 1558 he bequeathed his soul to 'almighty God, and to his only son Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer, and to the holy Ghost, and to all the holy and blessed company of heaven', and at his death, following

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 627.

¹⁷⁴ *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 298.

¹⁷⁵ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, VII, pp. 684-685.

three requiem masses his sermon was preached by a Grey Friar.¹⁷⁶ When Thomas Lodge, Grocer, made his will in 1583, he left his soul to 'almighty God, who has created and redeemed me from everlasting death and damnation to everlasting life, by the death and passion of my saviour Jesus Christ, which I steadfastly believe to have thereby, and by no other ways or means', while requiring six sermons after his death 'and my further will and mind is that there shall be no other ceremonies used at my burial than before I have bequeathed'.¹⁷⁷ His will was made seventeen years after he resigned his aldermanry in 1566, but in it he was associated with known evangelicals such as Anthony Hickman in Edward's reign.

However there was no Marian equivalent of Humphrey Monmouth. The Mayors praised by Nicholas Ridley would appear to have accepted the Catholic restoration without demur. Two years after Ridley wrote his letter to the City, Sir Richard Dobbes bequeathed his soul to 'almighty God, my saviour and redeemer, and to the most glorious virgin his mother, Our Lady St. Mary, and to all the holy company of heaven'. He wanted the parson of his parish, St. Margaret Moyses, to pray for his soul and requested the livery and yeomanry of the Skinners' company to pray for his soul and say the *de profundis* for him, although he remained a friend of Richard Grafton, making him overseer to the will.¹⁷⁸ Ridley had hoped that the royal hospitals, which 'in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor his year began so marvellous well' might 'persevere, continue, yea and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so

¹⁷⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/41, fo. 201; *Diary of Machyn*, p. 171. According to Machyn, writing of John Machell's death on 12 August 1558, he was known for his humanity; Died at midnight good Mr. Machyll, alderman, clothworker, and merchant of Muscovy. Worshipful man and good to the poor, and good to all men in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, where he lived in the same house where Mr. Hynde did : Ibid., p. 170.

¹⁷⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/68, fo. 230^{r-v}.

¹⁷⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/38, fo. 47.

godly begun'. Soon afterwards Bishop Gardiner installed a chapel and mass priest to replace the evangelical ministry of the Edwardian hospitaller at Christ's hospital.¹⁷⁹

None of the rulers seem to have participated in extensive subversive activities such as the importation of prohibited literature. A royal proclamation of June 1555 forbade the importing, selling, reading, printing or writing of books by authors such as Luther, the Swiss Reformers, most of the better-known English evangelical writers, Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, a copy of which the author had presented to the council chamber in the guildhall, and the Prayer Books of Edward VI.¹⁸⁰ Those evangelicals who did not choose exile tended to conform, as they were bound to do if the good order and public obedience of the City to the Crown was to be maintained. The significance of the evangelical element among the City's rulers, and particularly those in exile who would attain positions in the elite on their return, lay in the support they would provide for the establishment of a Protestant pattern of lay piety in the 1560s. The absolute numbers of known evangelicals in the City élite is considerably higher in the Marian period than is the case for the Henrician years. This in itself possesses some significance, but it must be remembered that a considerable number of them, for example Lionel Duckett, Richard Champion and Christopher Draper have left evidence for their religious position from a period considerably later than the reigns of Edward and Mary. Equally, most of those known to have held reformed opinions at an earlier date, such as Richard Hilles, William Chester and Thomas Locke, conformed to the established religion under Mary; none of them seem to have acted as

¹⁷⁹ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VII, p. 574; Howes, *Foundation of Christ's Hopsital*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁰ CLRO, Jor. 16, fo. 338^{r-v}; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations* II, no. 422; A. F. Pollard, 'Edward Hall's Will and Chronicle', *BIHR* 9 (1932), pp. 171-177.

religious separatists. It is clear that the wills written between December 20 1553, when the mass was publicly restored, and the passage of the Elizabethan religious statutes in 1559, demonstrate a substantial degree of commitment to Catholic forms of testamentary behaviour, although no more than 20% of testators invested in post-mortem prayers for the dead attached to charitable bequests, the most common form of pious benefaction.

Table Eight: Religious Bequests in Rulers' Wills, 1553-1559

Number of Wills	75	
Obits	7	9.34%
Trentals	1	1.34%
Prayers for Soul	15	20%
Ornaments	13	17.34%
Religious Houses	3	4%
Fraternities	2	2.66%
Funeral Sermons	7	9.34%
Other Sermons	3	4%
Maintenance of Divine Service	2	2.66%

Taking the rulers as a whole, the proportion of evangelicals seems surprisingly high compared to Catholics, but it must be remembered that evidence for religious belief is often biased towards the end of a testator's life. Therefore, to some extent the following figures reflect the presence among the Marian rulers of persons who would be prepared to participate with a degree of commitment in the protestant Church of England established after Mary's death.

Table Nine: Religious Profile of Rulers of London 1547-1558

Total Number of Rulers: 281

Total Number of Rulers of Known Religious Allegiance: 120

Proportion of Rulers of Known Religious Allegiance: 42.74%

	Number of Rulers	% Total Rulers	% Rulers of Known Religious Allegiance
Catholic	40	14.22%	33.34%
Catholic?	10	3.56%	8.34%
Protestant	51	18.14%	42.56%
Protestant?	15	5.34%	12.5%
Puritan	1	0.36%	0.84%

It is perhaps unsurprising that the aldermen should prove to display a higher concentration of known Catholics than the commoners, although it should be noted that of the fourteen possible evangelicals on the bench between 1547 and 1558, as many as eight had demonstrated reforming sympathies before or during Mary's reign.

Table Ten: Religious Profile of Aldermen of London 1547-58

Total Number of Aldermen: 55

Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 41

Proportion of Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 74.62%

	Number of Aldermen	% of Aldermen	% Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance
Catholic	22	40%	53.76%
Catholic?	5	9.02%	12.02%
Protestant	12	21.84%	29.24%
Protestant?	2	3.6%	4.88%

Among the commoners the the disparity between evangelicals and Catholics is even clearer, not least because many of them would live longer than their counterparts in the court of aldermen, and would serve well into Elizabeth's reign. Even so, nineteen of them had demonstrated evangelical

leanings either before or during Mary's reign, while William Parker represents the first appearance in City government of a man who would under Elizabeth form part of a small, but significant, puritan group.

Table Eleven: Religious Profile of Common Council 1554-1556

Total Commoners: 240

Commoners of known religious allegiance: 84

Proportion of Commoners of known religious allegiance: 34.96%

	Number of Commoners	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance
Catholic	22	9.16%	26.18%
Catholic?	5	2.08%	5.96%
Protestant	43	17.92%	51.28%
Protestant?	13	5.42%	15.48%
Puritan	1	0.42%	1.2%

In effect, while the number of committed protestants among the rulers at the death of Mary was relatively small, not a few of the Marian rulers would take on a significant role, as the social élite of City and parish, in adapting the traditional patterns of pious behaviour to accord with protestant interpretations of liturgy and the parish community.

Appendix Two: Aldermen and Common Councillors of London 1547-1558

KEY TO W LL BEQUESTS EE pp 61 3

Aldermen 1547-1558				
NAME	ALDERMAN SERVICE	MAY RALTY	WILL DATE	W LL BEQUESTS
Ralph Allen, Grocer	1534, 36, 38-47		1542 P3	
James Altham, Clothworker	1556-61		1582 P4	
Sir Henry Amcotts, Fishmonger	1536-54	1548-49	1554 P1	A C
Sir Alexander Avenon, Ironmonger	1558-80	1569-70	NW	
Sir John Ayliffe, Grocer	1550-56		1556 P2	B D C
Sir George Barne, Haberdasher	1542-58	1552-53	1558 P2	D + C
Humphrey Baskerville, Mercer	1558-64		1563 P4	+ P
Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith	1536-66	1545-46	1565 P2	C D H C
Sir John Champneys, Skinner	1527-56	1534-35	1556 *	C
Sir Richard Champion, Draper	1556-68	1565-66	1568 P4	H + P
Robert Chertsey, Mercer	1545-51		1555 P4	D C
Sir William Chester, Draper	1553-73	1560-61	NW	+ P
Sir John Cotes, Salter	1534-47	1542-43	1547 P4	A C D C
John Cooper, Fishmonger	1558-70		1584 P4(5)	G + C
Sir Thomas Curtes, Fishmonger	1551-59	1557-58	NW	
Sir Richard Dobbles, Skinner	1542-56	1551-52	1556 P1	C C
Sir Christopher Draper, Ironmonger	1556-81	1566-67	1580 P4	H + P
Sir William Forman, Haberdasher	1529-47	1538-39	1546 P4	
Richard Foulkes, Clothworker	1556-60		1570 P4	
Sir William Garrard, Haberdasher	1547-71	1555-56	1570 P4	+ C
Richard Gerveys, Mercer	1543-53		1555 P4	
Henry Goodyear, Leatherseller	1546-49		1556 P3	+ C?
Ralph Greenway, Grocer	1556-58		1558 P4	+ C
Sir John Gresham, Mercer	1540-56	1547-48	1554 P4	D + C
Sir Richard Gresham, Mercer	1536-49	1537-38	1549 P3	+ C
Sir William Harper, Merc. Taylor	1553-74	1561-62	1573 P3	
John Hawes, Clothworker	1556-65		1573 P4(5)	G H + P?
Henry Herdson, Skinner	1554-55		1555 P3	+ C
Sir William Hewett, Clothworker	1550-67	1559-60	1567 P4	+ C?
Sir Rowland Hill, Mercer	1542-61	1549-50	1560 P4	+ P?
Sir Henry Huberthorn, Merc. Taylor	1536-56	1546-47	1556 P4	
Augustine Hyde, Clothworker	1546-54		1554 P3(4)	
Sir Andrew Judde, Skinner	1541-58	1550-51	1558 P1	C?
Stephen Kirton, Merchant Taylor	1549-53		1552 P4	H + P
John Lambert, Draper	1547-54		1553 --	
Sir William Laxton, Grocer	1536-56	1544-45	1556 P2	+ C
Sir Thomas Leigh, Mercer	1552-71	1558-59	1570 P5	G H + P
Sir William Locke, Mercer	1545-50		1550 P4	+ P
Sir Thomas Lodge, Grocer	1553-66	1562-63	1583 P4	G H + P
Sir John Lyon, Grocer	1547-64	1554-55	1564 P4	
John Machell, Clothworker	1553-58		1558 P2	C?
Sir Richard Mallory, Mercer	1556-67	1564-65	1566 P4	
Sir Roger Martin, Goldsmith	1556-73	1567-68	1573 P4	H P
Sir Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	1549-82	1556-57	1580 P4	+ C
William Robins, Mercer	1550-52		1549 P4	+ P
Sir William Roche, Draper	1530-49	1540-41	1549 P3	C C
Sir Thomas Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1557-70	1568-69	1569 P5	G I + P
John Tolos, Clothworker	1538-48		1548 P4	D C
Richard Turke, Fishmonger	1546-52		1552 P4	H P
Sir Ralph Warren, Mercer	1528-53	1536-37, 44	1552 P1	C
Sir John White, Grocer	1554-73	1563-64	1573 P4	G + C
Sir Thomas White, Merchant Taylor	1544-67	1553-54	1566 P3	+ C
John Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1538-50		1551 P4	+ C?
David Woodroffe, Haberdasher	1548-60		1560 P3	+ C
Lawrence Wythers, Salter	1550-56		NW	

Common Councillors 1554-1556

NAME	W LL DATE	W LL BEQUESTS
John Acheley, Merchant Taylor	1586 P4	
Richard Allen, Haberdasher	1559 P4	G H
William Allen, Leatherseller (1558, 59-86)	NW	
Thomas Alsop, Grocer	1558 P1	C?
James Altham, Clothworker	1582 P4	
Thomas Armstrong, Merchant Taylor	NW	
John Askewe, Ironmonger	NW	
Alexander Avenon, Ironmonger	NW	

NAME	W L L D A E	WILL REQUESTS	
John Ayland, Cutler	NW		
Nicholas Bacon, Mercer	NW		
Thomas Bacon, Salter	1577 P4		+ P
John Baker, Mercer	1568 P2	G H	C?
Thomas Bannister, Skinner	1568 P6		+ P
Edward Banks, Haberdasher	1566 P4		+ P
Henry Barnes, Grocer	1557 P4		
Thomas Berthelet, Stationer	1555 P3		
Humphrey Baskerville, Mercer	1563 P4		+ P
Henry Beecher, Haberdasher	1568 P4	G H	+ P
Cuthbert Beeston, Girdler	1581 P4	H	+ P
William Berry, Draper	NW		
William Beswick, Draper	1567 P4*	G H	+ P
John Blackman, Grocer	NW		
Thomas Blank, Haberdasher (1542)	1562 P4	G	
Richard Blaston, Mercer	NW		
John Blundell, Mercer	1559 P3	G	+ P
Philip Bold, Clothworker	NW		
Thomas Bond, Mercer	NW		
William Bond, Haberdasher	1576 *		+ P
Thomas Bowyer, Grocer	NW		
William Bowyer, Haberdasher	NW		
William Bowyer, Merchant Taylor	1574		
Dunslowe Bray, Plumber	NW		
Peter Bristowe, Grocer	1562 P4	G H	
Robert Brown, Goldsmith	1575 P4	G H	
Richard Buckland, Haberdasher	1573 P4		+ C
Henry Burnell, Grocer	NW		
Henry Bush, Skinner	1560 P4		
Richard Buttle, Merchant Taylor (1555)	NW		
Anthony Cage, Salter	1583 P4	G H	+ P
Henry Calice, Girdler	1569 P4		
John Calthorp, Draper	NW		+ P?
Alexander Caverley	NW		
Richard Chamberlain, Ironmonger	1563 P3		J
William Chambers, Goldsmith	1559 P4	G	
Richard Champion, Draper	1568 P4	H	+ P
Thomas Chapman, Joiner	1567 P4		
William Chelsham, Mercer	1573 P3		+ P
William Cheverall, Draper	1569 P4	G	
Nicholas Chowne, Haberdasher	1568 P3		
Ralph Clarvaux, Grocer	1551 P3		K
Thomas Clayton, Baker	1555 P4	A C	+ P
William Clifton, Merchant Taylor	1562 P3		C
Humphrey Collett, Bowyer	1558 P3		J
John Cook, Haberdasher	NW		
Walter Cooper, Tiler	NW		
Clement Cornwall, Ironmonger	NW		
John Cosworth, Mercer	NW		+ P
John Dane, Goldsmith	NW		
William Dane, Ironmonger	1573 *	H J	+ P
Oliver Dawbeney, Tallowchandler	NW		
Robert Dawbeney, Merchant Taylor	1558 P3		
Thomas Ditchfield, Salter	1564 P4	H	+ P
William Draper, Ironmonger	NW		
Lionel Duckett, Mercer	1585 P5		+ P
Hugh Egglesfield, Leatherseller	NW		
John Elliot, Mercer	NW		
William Emerson, Bowyer	1574 P4		
John Essex, Haberdasher	1563 P4	G	+ P?
Robert Evans, Merchant Taylor	NW		
Nicholas Eveson, Haberdasher	NW		
Henry Fisher, Skinner	NW		
Jasper Fisher, Goldsmith	1579 *		+ P
John Fisher, Merchant Taylor	1558 P4		
William Fletcher, Grocer	1568 P3		
George Forman, Skinner	NW		+ C
Richard Foulkes, Clothworker	1570 P4		
Edward Fowler, Grocer	1563 P3	G	
Richard Fox, Goldsmith	NW		
Edward Gibbes	NW		
William Gifford, Mercer	NW		
Edward Gilbert, Goldsmith	NW		
John God, Merchant Taylor	1578 P5	H	P

NAME	W L DATE	WILL BEQUES	
Thomas Goodman, Mercer	1559		
William Gummer, Salter	NW		
Thomas Gunne, Grocer	NW		
William Gunne, Salter	NW		
Richard Grace, Goldsmith	1560 P4	H	
Richard Grafton, Grocer	NW		+ P
Ralph Greenway, Grocer	1558 P4		+ C
Philip Gunter, Skinner	1583 P4	G H	P
John Hagar, Mercer	NW		
Robert Harding, Salter	1568 P4		
John Hare, Mercer	1564 P4		+ P
John Harrison, Goldsmith	NW		
Robert Hartop, Goldsmith	1555 P1		+ C
James Hawes, Clothworker	NW		
John Hawes, Clothworker	1573 P5	H	+ P?
Thomas Haydon, Mercer	NW		
Michael Haithewaite, Pewterer	1557 P4	D	+ C
John Heath, Cooper	NW		
Thomas Heath, Baker	NW		
George Heton, Merchant Taylor	NW		+ P
Henry Herdson, Skinner	1555 P3		+ C
Rowland Heyward, Clothworker	1592 P4		+ P
John Hickson, Dyer	NW		
Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4	G	+ P
Thomas Hilton, Merchant Taylor	NW		
William Hoddesdon, Mercer	NW		
James Holliland, Scrivener	NW		
John Hulson	NW		
Thomas Hunt, Skinner	1557 P4	G	+ P?
Thomas Ibgrave, Broiderer	NW		
Lawrence Isborne, Draper	NW		
Edward Jackman, Grocer	1568 P4	H	+ P
John Jacques, Merchant Taylor	1556 P4		+ C?
William James, Cutler	1558 P2		+ C
Thomas Jennings, Fishmonger	1580 P4		
Michael Johnson, Goldsmith	NW		
Robert Johnson, Currier	NW		
Thomas Johnson, Haberdasher	1563 P4		
William Johnson, Haberdasher	1568 P4		
David Jones, Baker	1558 P1	C	+ C
David Jones, Barber-Surgeon	NW		
William Kelsicke, Brewer	1564 P4		
Edmund Key, Salter	1567 P4		
John King, Tallowchandler	NW		
Richard Kinvelmarsh, Mercer	1574 P6		
Thomas Kitchen, Pewterer	1579 P4		
Richard Knight, Mercer	1558 P6		P?
John Knotting, Grocer	NW		
John Lacey, Clothworker	NW		+ P
John Langley, Goldsmith	1577 P4		
Henry Larkin, Merchant Taylor	NW		
Edmund Lee, Salter	NW		
Henry Leigh, Draper	1568 P5		
John Linsey, Armourer	NW		
Robert Livers, Fishmonger	NW		
Thomas Locke, Mercer	1556 P4		+ P
Thomas Lorrimer, Innholder	NW		
Nicholas Lowe, Merchant Taylor	NW		
John Lowen, Draper (1555)	1557 P1	C E	+ C
Simon Lowe, Merchant Taylor	1578 P3		
Emmanuel Lucar, Merchant Taylor	1573 P4	G	+ P
Thomas Lunne, Grocer	NW		
John Lute, Clothworker	1585 P5	H	+ P
Richard Mallory, Mercer	1566 P4		
Anthony Marler, Haberdasher	NW		
John Marsh, Mercer	1578 --		
Roger Martin, Mercer	1573 P4	H	P
George Mason, Haberdasher	NW		
Richard Maunsell, Scrivener	1558 P1		+ C
William Maynard, Mercer	1564 P3		
George Medley, Mercer	1554 P1	C	C
John Merrick, Merchant Taylor	NW		
William Merrick, Draper	1581 P4		
Henry Mills, Grocer	1574 P4	G	+ P

NAMC	W L DATE	WILL BEGLES S	
John Minnes	1561 P1	C F	+ C
Hugh Mynors, Brewer	1557 P3		+ P
Henry Naylor, Clothworker	NW		
Clement Newce, Mercer	1564 P4	G I	P?
Thomas Nicholls, Goldsmith	NW		
Thomas Nicholson, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4		
Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	NW		
John Paine, Skinner	1560 P4		+ P?
William Parker, Draper	1576 P4	H L	PP
Thomas Pawley, Fishmonger	1558 P3	D	C
Robert Peacock, Salter	1574 P4		
Thomas Percy, Skinner	NW		
Alexander Perpoint, Draper	NW		
George Pert, Dyer	1558 P4		
William Peterson, Haberdasher	1578 P3		
Thomas Pigott, Grocer	NW		
Richard Pointer, Draper	1563 P4	G	+ P?
Thomas Polle, Cordwainer	1569 P4		
Hugh Pope, Haberdasher	1562 P4		
Robert Raines, Goldsmith	NW		
Thomas Ramsey, Grocer	1585 P4	H	P
Vincent Randall, Mercer (1554)	1577 P3		
Robert Reynolds, Fishmonger	1558 P1	C D E F J	+ C
Henry Richards, Draper	1583 P4		
William Ridgley, Haberdasher	NW		
John Rogers, Mercer	NW		
Robert Rose, Merchant Taylor	1576 P3		
Thomas Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1569 P5	G I	+ P
John Royse, Mercer	1557		
John Royston, Pewterer	1563 P4		
John Sadler, Draper	1559 P1		+ C
Andrew Sares, Salter	NW		
Blaise Saunders, Grocer	1577 P4		+ P?
John Sayer, Innholder	NW		
Anthony Silver, Leatherseller	NW		
Thomas Simmonds, Fishmonger	NW		
Nicholas Small, Clothworker	1565 P4		
William Smallwood, Grocer	1567 P4		
Thomas Smith, Skinner	NW		
John Southall	NW		
William Southwood, Goldsmith	1559 P4		
Thomas Stacey, Mercer	1559 P3		+ P
John Stirley, Vintner	1558 P4	G	
Richard Stockbridge, Mercer	1584 P4		
John Stokes, Brewer	NW		
William Street, Haberdasher	NW		
Edmund Style, Grocer	1563 P4		+ P
George Tadlow, Haberdasher	1557 P3	D	+ P
Edward Taylor, Haberdasher	NW		
Roger Taylor, Goldsmith	1556 P4		+ C
Nicholas Theme, Haberdasher	NW		
John Thomas, Grocer	1563 P4	G H	+ P?
Robert Thomas, Merchant Taylor	1572 P4	G	
Thomas Thomlinson, Merchant Taylor	1567 P4	H	
Cuthbert Thompson, Brewer	1558 P1	C	C
Anthony Totehill, Grocer	1563 P4		
Robert Trappes, Goldsmith (1534)	NW		
John Travers, Merchant Taylor	1570 P5		+ P
William Tucker, Grocer	1568 P1		
Richard Waddington, Merchant Taylor	1565 P3		
Guy Wade, Merchant Taylor	1557 P3		
Geoffrey Walkeden, Skinner	1599 --		+ P?
Henry Walters, Merchant Taylor	NW		
Thomas Wanton, Grocer	1569 P4		
Thomas Wareton, Grocer	NW?		
John Warley, Mercer	1557 P4		+ P?
Edmund Warner, Draper	1589 P4		
John Wase, Brewer	1561 P4	K	P?
William Watson, Draper	1559 P4		
Humphrey Wells, Fishmonger	NW		
John Wetherall, Goldsmith	1578 P4	G	+ P
Robert Whetstone, Haberdasher	1557 P2		+ C
Edward Whitchurch, Haberdasher	1562 P3		+ P
Richard Whitehill, Merchant Taylor	1565 P4	K	+ P

NAME	WILL DATE	WILL REQUESTS
John White, Grocer	1573 P4	+ C
John Whitepayne, Merchant Taylor	1559 P4	
Robert Whitestreet, Haberdasher	NW	
Robert Wigge, Goldsmith	1570 P4	+ P
John Wisdom, Painter Stainer	1559 P4	
John Wicks, Goldsmith	1557 P2	C?
Thomas Wilkes, Haberdasher	1558 P1	+ C
William Wyatt, Grocer	1564 P4	
Lawrence Wythers, Salter	NW	
Roger Withy, Haberdasher	NW	

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RULERS OF LONDON 1558-1580

The death of Mary Tudor on 17 November 1558, left a hiatus during which the Marian religious dispensation continued to function, but under the shadow of the new monarch's suspected Protestantism.¹ Five days after Mary's death Robert Johnson, gentleman, was buried in St. Paul's, leaving a legacy to Bishop Bonner and helped on his way by a requiem mass and sermon.² A few days later, Elizabeth's chaplain William Bill preached at Paul's Cross, to be denounced as a heretic during the following week by the Marian Bishop Christopherson of Chichester.³ On 27 December Elizabeth issued a proclamation prohibiting unlicensed preaching, particularly on the part of deprived Edwardian preachers who took it upon themselves to reclaim their former role 'assembling especially in the city of London in sundry places great numbers of people'. Preaching was limited to the Gospels and Epistles, and the Ten Commandments in English 'without exposition', while no public prayer or ceremony was to be employed other than 'that which is already used and by law received, or the common litany used at this present in her majesty's own chapel, and the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed in English' until parliament might be summoned.⁴

The proclamation was read in the City on 30 December, and on 1 January 1559 'the Lord Mayre and Aldermen gave in commaundement to everie warde within the Cittie of London, that the parson or curate in everie

¹ For the events surrounding the creation of the Elizabethan Church see W. P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth I and the English Reformation, the Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge, 1968); N. L. Jones, *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (London, 1982).

² *Diary of Machyn*, p. 179.

³ *Diary of Machyn*, p. 178; M. Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons* (Toronto, 1958), pp. 55-56.

⁴ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, no. 451.

parishe churche in London shoulde reade the Epistle and Gospell of the daye in the Englishe tongue in the masse tyme; and the English procession now used in the Queen's chapell'.⁵ Communion in both kinds for the laity was revived by proclamation in March, and with the Act of Uniformity passed by the Lords on 29 April, the English communion service was made compulsory on 24 June, although the previous month 'the service began in English in divers parishes in London, after the last booke of service of Common Prayer used in the tyme of King Edward the VI'.⁶ There soon followed a royal visitation with comprehensive articles and injunctions to ensure the enforcement of the religious changes in the parishes.⁷

By the end of the year the public destruction of the most important symbols of the Catholic faith, which had proceeded slowly and in a piecemeal fashion under Henry and Edward, was largely complete. In June and July the religious houses at Westminster, Sion, Great St. Bartholomew's, the Charterhouse and Greenwich were once more suppressed. On 12 August the high altar in St. Paul's, with the rood and the accompanying figures of Mary and John in the rood-loft, were taken down. 'This moneth allso...were burned in Paules Church-yarde, Cheape and divers other places of London, all the roodes and images that stoode in the parishe churches. In some places the coapes, vestments, aulter clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchers and other ornaments of the churches were burned; which cost above £2,000 renuinge agayne in Queen Maries tyme'.⁸ Similar burnings, often accompanied by preaching against the sins of

⁵ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, pp. 142-143.

⁶ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, p. 145.

⁷ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, no. 454; Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, III, pp. 1-29.

⁸ Wriothesley, *Chronicle* II, pp. 145-146; *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 204, 207.

idolatry took place at St. Botolph Bishopgate, and in September, at St. Magnus.⁹ Soon afterwards, 'be-gane the nuw mornyng prayer at Sant Antholyns in Boge-row, after Geneve fassyon, -be-gyne to ryng at v in the mornyng; men and women all do syng, and boys',¹⁰ although early in 1560 it was becoming noticeable that the queen retained candles, a cross, and 'the tabulles standyng auter-wyse' in her own chapel.¹¹

To the rulers of the City fell the task not only of enforcing the new religious dispensation, but of restraining the excesses of iconoclasts who would not wait for the government to act. At Christmas 1558 a riotous mob, including the former exile Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, broke into the Italian church and inveighed against the sins of the previous regime.¹² January 1559 saw the defacement of the image of St. Thomas Becket above the doorway of the Mercer's chapel, 'and a bill sette on the churche dore depravinge the setters up thereof'.¹³ The royal injunctions of 1559 commanded the removal and destruction of all 'monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere within their churches', but there followed a series of proclamations over the early years of the reign urging the rulers to restrain iconoclastic excesses and maintain clear distinction between monuments of idolatry and the monuments of illustrious persons.¹⁴

⁹ *Diary of Machyn*, pp. 208-209.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 226, 229; M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts I, Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 307-314.

¹² Aston, *England's Iconoclasts* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 296-297.

¹³ Wriothesley, *Chronicle II*, p. 143.

¹⁴ Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles & Injunctions III*, p. 16; Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, nos. 469 (19 September 1560), 486 (30 October 1561).

Similarly, proclamations were issued regularly directing the rulers to enforce the Lenten fast,¹⁵ and the mayor and aldermen were made directly responsible for ensuring that decorous behaviour was observed during divine service at St. Paul's. Within the parishes the social elite was enlisted to ensure enforcement of the new order of service by rubric 46 of the 1559 injunctions directing the bishops to appoint 'three or four men which tender God's glory and his true religion' to ensure that all parishioners attended church as intended every Sunday and holy day, and to report persistent absentees to their ordinary.¹⁶

Such orders were essentially concerned with maintaining public order, and none of the rulers could have disapproved of the expulsion of the anabaptists in September 1560.¹⁷ However, by 1569 the Crown had issued its own index of prohibited Catholic religious works, and in the wake of the Northern Rising of 1569, and the papal excommunication of the queen in 1570, they were required to search out the printers and distributors of seditious tracts, particularly on religious matters. Thereafter, the importation of prohibited books was of perennial concern to the government and the civic authorities.¹⁸ At the same time the City élite was required to co-operate in increasingly severe attacks upon recusant Catholics, and recalcitrant protestant separatists.

The Recorder of London, William Fleetwood, has preserved several accounts of civic action against papists in the notoriously lawless area around Clerkenwell, and in the other rapidly expanding suburbs. In 1576

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 453, 466, 477, 489, 550.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 486; Frere & Kennedy, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, III, p. 22.

¹⁷ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, no. 470.

¹⁸ Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, nos. 561, 577, 580; *Remembrancia* I, 62, 98, 450, 453.

Fleetwood, together with the Sheriffs, Aldermen William Kimpton and George Barne the younger, arrested a number of Englishmen and denizens from a congregation attending mass at the Charterhouse, in the house of the Portuguese ambassador, Geraldi. Fleetwood clearly regarded the presence of Catholic strangers as an incitement to disobedience among the London citizenry, and it is notable that his attitude towards the priest at the illicit mass contained a considerable element of fear of maleficent magic; '...I suddenlie loking back, saw the priest shake his head and, and mumbled out words which sounded *Diabie!* and *male croix!* or to that effect. And then said I to Mr. Sherriff, "Sir, let us depart, for the priest doth curse"'.¹⁹ Just as his predecessors had sat in judgement upon evangelicals in the reigns of Henry and Mary, Lord Mayor Sir William Chester, who had wept as the martyrs burned, was examining suspected Catholics in 1561. Lord Mayor Sir John Branch was criticised in 1582 for having discharged one of the City's attorneys, John Eden, subsequently found conformable by the Bishop of London, for suspected recusancy. Thomas Wilson, Secretary of State, threatened to inform the council that Branch was attempting to make Eden 'a Papist against his will' should he refuse to readmit him to his office. The council, in fact, commended Branch for his zeal, and recommended he continue his search among the City's officials for further suspected papists.²⁰

In 1577 came the first government order to the bishops to certify the names of all that refused to attend their churches, and a large-scale search for recusants in London was conducted by the aldermen and sheriffs

¹⁹ T. Wright (ed.), *Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters* 2 vols. (London, 1838) II, pp. 39-40. Alderman Kimpton's brother-in-law, Nicholas Mounslow, was a Catholic. In 1579 he committed suicide, and Fleetwood sent 'the idol that he took for his God' to Burghley, remarking 'It looketh rather like the figure of a divell, than a saynt': *ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

²⁰ *CSP Dom. 1547-80*, p. 174; *Remembrancia* I, 174-183.

in August 1584.²¹ Bishop Aylmer's returns, dated November 1577, are interesting in that they include the names of numerous persons 'poore and nought worthe', but none of the higher ranking London citizens,²² although the son of the Catholic alderman Thomas Kytson, who had died in 1540, was named as a recusant in the parish of St. Peter le Poer.²³ Walsingham had spies at work in the City, the most active of whom was one David Jones.²⁴ He, at some point in the late 1560s had produced a list of the leading papists in the City, which did include the names of two aldermen, John Cooper and Sir Thomas Offley, and three commoners, George Forman, Richard Buckland and Thomas Lowe, besides the widow of Alderman Sir Richard Champion.²⁵ Of these only Cooper and Offley were still alive when Bishop Aylmer compiled his list. It seems possible that the connections of the City élite may have helped in keeping them out of the lists; certainly there appears to have been a high degree of recusancy in the Inns of Court which failed to find its way into Aylmer's returns.²⁶ But Jones seems to have been an industrious spy, and uncovered no more recusancy among the City rulers, while the frequent searches conducted from the later 1570s to the end of the reign upon the advice of informers regularly turned up the names of prominent recusants such as Sir Thomas Tresham, but never those

²¹ *CSP Dom. 1581-1590*, pp. 198-199.

²² PRO, SP 12/118, fos. 143^r-151^r.

²³ *Ibid.*, fo. 144^r.

²⁴ *CSP Dom. 1547-1580*, p. 483, 484, 486; *CSP Dom. 1591-1594*, pp. 34-35.

²⁵ PRO, SP 15/25, fo. 118. The list must date from before 7 December 1570, rather than October 1578 as suggested for the document by the editors of the *CSP Dom. Add.* since Cooper was discharged of his office without fine then, while Richard Buckland died in 1573, Thomas Lowe in 1574, and George Forman in 1575.

²⁶ G. de C. Parmiter, 'Elizabethan Popish Recusancy in the Inns of Court', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Special Supplement* 11 (1976).

of the City rulers.²⁷

The rulers were expected to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities in rooting out protestant nonconformity, initially separatist congregations which arose following the rejection of further liturgical reform and the forced submission of most of the clergy involved in the vestments controversy. Such a congregation was discovered using Plumber's Hall as a meeting house in 1567, and the interrogations of the ringleaders suggests that while they had little complaint with the doctrine of the established church, they found its discipline and liturgical practices unacceptable.²⁸ Another such group petitioned the queen in 1571 for further reformation of the church, and enclosed a copy of their order of worship and the reasons for their separation.²⁹ While members of the City élite certainly maintained strong links with the Genevan-style stranger churches in London, the characteristic expressions of their piety were focused upon their parish communities. In 1568, in the aftermath of the discovery of the Plumber's Hall group, the privy council directed Bishop Grindal to repress conventicles within his diocese, and confer with sheriff William Bond for the best way of ensuring religious uniformity.³⁰ While the rulers were involved to some degree in the detection and apprehension of Brownists and Familists, the main opposition to Protestant attempts to bring about further reform would come from the Crown and the higher clergy, effectively allowing the puritans among the City rulers to follow their consciences within the law without compromising their position

²⁷ *CSP Dom. 1581-1590*, pp. 46, 68, 345, 555; PRO, SP 12/201, fo. 80; 238, fos. 88^r-89^v; *CSP Dom. 1591-1594*, pp. 27-29, 176, 502-503; *Remembrancia I*, 237, 244, 352, 655.

²⁸ *The Reformation of Our Church, 1593*, Facsimile ed. of *A Parte of a Register*, pp. 23-37; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 88-90.

²⁹ PRO, SP 15/20, fo. 255.

³⁰ *CSP Dom. 1547-1580*, p. 308.

as members of a corporate body.³¹

In this context, it is important to determine how the religious composition of the court of alderman and of common council reflected the religious policies they were required to enforce. Elizabeth's accession clearly brought about a degree of change throughout the City's ruling élite. It is demonstrable that Catholics declined in both numbers and influence in the City government during the 1560s, and Bishop Aylmer's list may indeed reflect a real lack of Catholic recusancy by 1577 in the City government. Alderman David Woodroffe resigned his office in 1560, although this was due more to ill-health than to any apparent attempt to remove so irreconcilable a Catholic from office. He was residing in the country when he died in 1563.³² Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's Oxford, apparently remained Catholic until his death in 1567 leaving £3000 to further endow his foundation, and ultimately being buried in the college chapel, the young scholar and future Jesuit Edmund Campion preaching his funeral sermon and being left a black mourning gown in White's will in 1566.³³

Some of the other Marian aldermen remembered the deprived clergymen with whom they had attempted to undo the damage of Edwardian heresy. In 1570 Sir William Garrard, a parishioner like George Forman of St. Christopher-le-Stocks, carried out his duty as executor to the will of William Glynne, the foundation of a school in Bangor, 'according to the trust committed to me by the reverend father in God Morris, late bishop of

³¹ *CSP Dom. 1547-1580*, pp. 357, 642; *CSP Dom. 1581-1590*, p. 429; *CSP Dom. 1591-94*, p. 324.

³² Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 126-127; R. M. Benbow, *Notes to Index of London Citizens Involved in City Government 1558-1603*, 2 vols. (Private Printing, London 1994, Copy held at Institute of Historical Research, London, and Institute of Metropolitan History, London) II, pp. 944-945.

³³ *DNB*, s. n. White, Sir Thomas; PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 265^r.

Rochester', since Garrard was now the only surviving executor of Glynne's will.³⁴ Maurice Griffith, bishop of Rochester 1554-1558, died in November 1558 leaving substantial bequests of equipment for celebration of the mass to the churches in his diocese in November of that year.³⁵ William Glynne had defended the real presence in the sacrament in the disputation arranged between the Catholic and evangelical divines at Cambridge in 1549, and was made Bishop of Bangor in 1554, a post he retained until his death five months before that of Griffith.³⁶

Sir John White was a brother of Bishop White of Winchester, whose obstinate Catholicism had led to his imprisonment in the early days of Elizabeth's reign, and whom White sheltered on his release. Sir John was connected by marriage to the staunchly conservative Thomas White of Poole, in whose house his brother, now deprived of his bishopric, ended his days.³⁷ John Richmond, alderman in 1536-37, in July 1559 forgave a substantial debt owed by Lancelot Salkeld, Dean of Carlisle.³⁸ Salkeld, last Prior of Carlisle, and Dean of the cathedral and chapter founded in 1542, was deprived under Edward, restored by Mary, and would again be deprived later in 1559; he seems to have been an irreconcilable Catholic.³⁹

The wills of most of these known Catholics, including those of

³⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/54, fo. 18^r.

³⁵ DNB s. n. Griffith, Maurice; Le Neve, *Fasti* II, p. 571; Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 234.

³⁶ Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, pp. 319-27, 543.

³⁷ *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 78; House of Commons, 1558-1603, s. n. White, Sir John; *Vis. Lon. 1568*, p. 7; DNB s. n. White, Bishop John.

³⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/42B, fo. 303^v.

³⁹ J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* ed. Hardy, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1854) III, p. 246.

Richard Buckland, Haberdasher, and Thomas Lowe, Vintner,⁴⁰ do not reveal investment in religious bequests such as sermons, except for the funeral sermons required by John Cooper and Sir John White.⁴¹ John Minnes, for whose estate administration was granted in May 1561, left his soul to the virgin and saints, and 6s. 8d. 'to the fraternitie of the trynytie' in the parish church of St. Botolph Aldersgate, but his will had been drawn up in 1540.⁴² However, the clearest instance of a bequest deriving from Catholic religious sensibility is to be found in the will of Sir Martin Bowes, a conservative Catholic under Henry and Mary, and apparently still conservative in Elizabeth's time. Bowes made his final will in August 1565, leaving his soul to 'the mercy of almighty God, the father, son and the holy ghost, and to the holy and blessed company of heaven, verily trusting and believing by and through the merits of my saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ, and true belief in him, to have remission and forgiveness of my manifold sins committed in this wretched and sinful world against his majesty unto whose great and infinite mercy I do wholly appeal and commit myself'.⁴³ A 'goodly cross of gold with pearls' was bequeathed to adorn the Lord Mayor's chain of office, and the parish clerks of London were directed to bear his body to burial attired in surplices. This latter provision is particularly significant in view of his request that three of the most radical proto-puritan clergy in London preach a sermon once a week for a year.⁴⁴

Most of the known influential Catholics in the City government were

⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/57, fos. 252^r-253^v; 56, fo. 264^r-^v.

⁴¹ PRO, PROB. 11/67, fo. 182^v; 55, fo. 306^v.

⁴² PRO, PROB. 11/44, fo. 145^r.

⁴³ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 19^r.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 21^r.

thus retired or dead by the early 1570s. It is difficult to assert with certainty that any deliberate policy of manipulation existed, but the disappearance of Catholics from the ruling group of the City was accompanied by an influx of decidedly protestant men onto the Court of Aldermen and Common Council. From exile returned Anthony Hickman, Thomas Heton, Richard Springham and John Bodley. The latter two had come under the influence of Strasbourg and Zurich theology during their time there, while Bodley had served as an elder in the English congregation at Geneva under John Knox, and had been instrumental in printing an English Geneva Bible.⁴⁵ Other protestants first appear as commoners in the 1560s, such as Christopher Barker, Draper, later a member of the stationers company, responsible for the first English printing of the Geneva Bible in 1575. In 1577 he took out a patent for the printing of the Old and New Testaments in English, which was extended in 1589 to include 'all and singular the statutes, books, pamphlets, acts of parliament, proclamations, injunctions, as of bibles and new testaments of all sorts, of whatsoever translation in the English tongue...also of all books for the service of God'.⁴⁶ From 1558 the protestant group among the commoners began to supply an increasing number of recruits to the court of aldermen. Former members of the Throckmorton jury, such as Humphrey Baskerville, Edward Banks and William Beswick were elected to the court in 1558, 1560 and 1564 respectively, while the strongly Protestant Francis Barnham took his place on the bench in 1568.

Indeed, the eventual ascendancy not merely of protestantism, but of puritanism among the City rulers, is taken as axiomatic in the recent

⁴⁵ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, pp. 77, 92-94, 182-183, 292-293.

⁴⁶ *DNB*, s. n. Barker or Barkar, Christopher; *The New Testament of our lord Jesus Christ*, trans. from Greek by Theodore Beza, into English by L. Thomson (1576), *RSTC* 2878; *The Bible* [Geneva] (1587), *RSTC*, 2146.

studies of the Elizabethan City. F. F. Foster believed that most of the rulers were protestant by Elizabeth's death, but that in 1558 'the leanings of all but a few were ambiguous and may now never be retrieved';

It would seem that Protestantism, and especially Puritanism with its doctrine of the elect, would have appealed to men who already saw themselves as a distinct and chosen community, albeit a worldly one...so great was their abiding loyalty to the City and to each other, so deep and reverent their commitment to City politics, that their profoundest religious impulses seem understandable only if viewed as a blending of the civic and the spiritual'.⁴⁷

Ian Archer takes essentially the same view;

...as Elizabeth's reign progressed, the grip of advanced protestants on City government tightened. Puritanism was not a divisive force in City politics because the puritans appear to have had few opponents within the élite. Any popular hostility to the godly there may have been lacked an answering echo among the rulers'.⁴⁸

Thus the broadly based 'puritan moral and social attitudes' of the rulers found outward expression in the petition of 1584 requesting the reinstatement of Thomas Barbor as lecturer at St. Mary Bow.⁴⁹ To the same puritan ethic is attributed the corporate hostility towards the theatres, the drives against moral corruption from the 1570s, and the periodic attempts to enforce greater reverence for the Sabbath. Certainly one cannot deny a strong religious rationale behind attempts to curb the profanation of the Sabbath. Lord Mayor Sir Thomas Blanke, writing to Burghley in 1582, put the deaths of a large number of spectators in the collapse of a stand in Paris Garden to 'the hande of God for suche abuse

⁴⁷ Foster, *Politics of Stability*, p. 5. C. f. R. M. Wunderli, 'Evasion of the Office of Alderman in London, 1523-1672', *London Journal* 15 (1990), pp. 3-18, where he attributes political stability and lack of serious divisions among the elite to entirely the opposite impulse, a lack of will to incur the expense of office and a lack of commitment to civic political life.

⁴⁸ Archer, *The Politics of Stability*, p. 45.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 211, 248-54.

of the Sabbath Daie', and Recorder Fleetwood was of the same opinion.⁵⁰ However, similar values and attitudes were finding expression throughout Western Europe at the same time; in England they found expression within a Protestant idiom, in Spain through the Catholicism of the Counter-Reformation. The theatres certainly were regarded as morally dubious by the City élite, not least because they drew the young apprentices away from their work into idleness, damaging the prosperity of the City, and because they encouraged the populace to neglect divine service. At the same time it was only in times of plague that the City went so far as to completely close them, fearing the potential for spreading disease offered by the gathering of large numbers of spectators.⁵¹

Equally, the enforcement of the Sabbath clearly represented in communities such as Bury St. Edmund's an element of a drive to build a godly city on a hill by a puritan social élite in close alliance with puritan preachers.⁵² In London, where the City élite and the body of preaching ministers were too large ever to be fully dominated by the puritans, the insistence of reverence on the Sabbath served the purposes of the conformist Protestant as much as it did his puritan counterpart.

As Archer points out, the moral and social standpoint of the rulers that contributed to this broadly "puritan" view of civic life, derived from attitudes and practices that had formed integral elements of the pre-Reformation Catholic worldview.⁵³ Our problem thus involves not only the

⁵⁰ T. Wright, *Queen Elizabeth & her Times* II, pp. 183-184, 186.

⁵¹ *Remembrancia* I, 9, 295, 317, 319, 635; II, 103, 171, 188.

⁵² P. Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: a Suffolk Miniature', in R. B. Knox (ed.), *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (1977), pp. 70-91; *idem*, *The Religion of Protestants: the Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 156-159; *idem*, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England, Religious, Social and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1988), pp. 55-56.

⁵³ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 163-175.

practical distinction between protestantism and puritanism among the City rulers, but, necessarily the nature of lay protestantism during the Elizabethan period. It seems clear that we cannot expect the majority of the population to have wholly accepted and implemented the full range of Reformed doctrines, and those laymen who did generally seem to have been regarded by their contemporaries as puritans, or precisians: 'The "religion of Protestants" in its more intense and fully internalised form was never popular in its plain and ordinary sense'.⁵⁴ Indeed, in a society which tended to judge religion by its outward manifestations, it may have been this very internalisation, the intense examination of conscience by the godly protestant seeking after perserverence in election, that marked the puritan off from his contemporaries.

Yet there is no clear-cut divide here between the 'popular' religion of those unwilling or unable to adopt the Reformed doctrines, and the 'élite' religion of an educated social elite most likely to implement the doctrines of protestantism. A deep-rooted divergence between popular and élite culture had yet to occur, and the 'puritan' world view of London, represents the general tendency for social élites at this period to attack some aspects of traditional lay culture in response to changes in the wider European world-view. In the English context this brought about the identification of many traditional customs as pagan, while paganism and magic were ultimately identified with Catholicism.⁵⁵ The godly might regard the mere conformity of the Prayer Book Protestants as insufficient to mark them as truly saved souls, but the fact that the godly and the

⁵⁴ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, p. 191.

⁵⁵ P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 207-234; Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 189-241; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), pp. 58-89. As early as April 1561 the privy council was expected to punish a Catholic priest taken for celebrating mass in the house of Sir Thomas Wharton of Newhall, Essex, for his 'magic and conjuration': *CSP Dom. 1547-80*, p. 173-4.

conformists among the City rulers shared similar notions regarding what constituted moral and religious delinquency meant that corporate initiatives to enforce greater church attendance on the Sabbath, or to reform the immorality of the theatres could accommodate a wide variety of personal religious motivation. By the later seventeenth century the same crowds who danced around maypoles on Mayday, might participate in burning the effigy of the pope on the anniversary of Elizabeth's accession.⁵⁶

The revisionist argument for the nature of lay piety in the Elizabethan period takes the 'unpopularity' of Reformed doctrines to an extreme;

Where the Protestant Reformation really succeeded, it made Perkins-style Protestants; where it failed, the political Reformations made 'parish anglicans'.⁵⁷

In effect, the only true lay Protestants were those known to their contemporaries as 'puritans'. The majority of parishioners are thus not seen as Catholics, strictly speaking, but are equally not seen as Protestants in any meaningful sense, while the term 'church papist', used by protestant divines to describe parishioners whose devotion to the church ran only as deep as parish ceremonial, has been extended so widely as to exclude only convinced Calvinists.⁵⁸

This seems rather too rigorous a definition in the context of a national Church which retained elements of the pre-Reformation service as

⁵⁶ P. Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London', *London Journal* 3 (1977), pp. 143-162.

⁵⁷ Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 291.

⁵⁸ C. Haigh, 'The Church of England, the Catholics and the People', in C. Haigh, (ed.), *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (London, 1984), pp. 195-219; *idem*, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', in C. Haigh (ed.), *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 176-208; *idem*, 'The English Reformation. A Premature Birth, a Difficult Labour and a Sickly Child', *Historical Journal* 33 (1990), pp. 449-459; A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London, 1993), esp. pp. 100-119.

part of its liturgical ceremonial, the focus of its institutional parochial life, and did not demand subscription to Reformed theology of its lay members. Indeed, in its attempts to suppress recusancy the government imposed fines for failure to attend the church service, not for failing to espouse Reformed doctrine.⁵⁹ The parish remained the essential social and religious focus of the laity, and in London, at least, attendance at services, sermons and lectures seems to have been high.⁶⁰ Thus, the assumption that a full understanding of Calvinist doctrine be a precondition for qualification as a Protestant in the terms of the practical requirements of the Elizabethan Church seems equivalent to taking a Margery Kemp as the standard definition of a pre-Reformation Catholic; if the godly clergy complained of the popish tendencies of the mass of parishioners, and despaired of the effectiveness of their preaching, this, at least in part, arose from the grouping of a wide range of traditional customs not intrinsically Catholic under the label 'popish'.⁶¹ Indeed, their Catholic predecessors had frequently expressed fears that the laity were unable to distinguish between *latreia*, the proper reverence for images as symbols of greater truths, and *idolatreia*, the pagan behaviour of worshipping the images themselves.⁶²

Thus, just as the parish community had formed the essential focus for pious devotions in the pre-Reformation period, it continued to play the same role for public expressions of religious commitment after the

⁵⁹ J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community*; Haigh, *English Reformations*; etc.

⁶⁰ Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 82-92; J. P. Boulton, 'The Limits of Formal Religion: the Administration of Holy Communion in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *London Journal* 10 (1984), pp. 135-154.

⁶¹ C. Haigh, 'Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), pp. 30-58.

⁶² M. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, *passim*.

Elizabethan Reformation. With the replacement of a considerable proportion of London's clergy with protestants, the traditional ties between the leaders of the parish communities and their local curate or minister meant that the very strength of parochial ties which had formed the life-blood of the pre-Reformation Catholic community now helped to ensure a successful transition to the parochial organisation of the Elizabethan Church.⁶³ The Elizabethan church liturgy came to form the basis of shared religious expectations, in the same way as the traditional structures of belief had validated and safeguarded the local community and wider social structure before the Reformation period. Within this broad spectrum of shared loyalty to forms of parochial religious expression, some testators display a deeper commitment to the ideals of a Reformed church. Thus the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, saw a fairly rapid reinterpretation of the older forms of testamentary behaviour into a decidedly Protestant context.

A 'Post Reformation' Pattern of Testamentary Piety

In terms of doctrinal beliefs, testamentary material is a highly problematical source,⁶⁴ not least because the continuity of verbal patterns makes a phrase such as 'the elect', which might be taken to refer to Reformed ideas of predestined election and reprobation, appropriate in fact to a wide spectrum of meanings, ranging from the Catholic to the Calvinist. Very few will preambles offer any hope of determining the

⁶³ H. Gareth Owen, "The London Parish Clergy in the Reign of Elizabeth I", University of London PhD Thesis (1957), *passim*; *idem*, 'Parochial Curates in Elizabethan London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 10 (1959), pp. 66-73.

⁶⁴ Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, pp. 196-198; *idem*, 'England', in B. Scribner, R. Porter & M. Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 80-94.

testator's views on the nature of the English Church or its doctrine. One of these few, however, was drawn up by John Jackson, Founder, on 10 April 1579:

ffirst I thancke God moste hartely with harte and voyce, that it hath pleased him of his gracious goodnes to bestowe suche his earthlie benefites on mee, myserable synner, beseeching him of his gracious goodnes to give me grace to bestowe them to his glorye, but chiefly, and before all, I giue him moste hartie thanks for my redemption and salvation thorowe the onely meritts of myne alone saviour Ihesus Christe. And to declare my faithe, I doe beleve in God the Father, in God the Sonne, and God the Holye Ghoste, three distincte persons and yett but one God, and I beleve that to be the true Church of God onely wherein his people are taughte to serve and honour him accordinge to his will; whiche Church retayneth and usethe twoe sacraments: the sacramente of baptisme, wherein our God dothe regenerate vs to himselfe, and the sacramente of Christe's bodye and bloude wherein by the inward operacion of his holye spirite wee are knytt to him, and he to vs accordinge to his promyse. In which faithe, throughe hope in Christe our life, salvation and resurrection, I am encoraged willinglie to forsake this myserable worlde, and commende my soule into the handes of allmightie God, and my bodye to the earthe, with a sure hope of a ioyfull resurretioun.⁶⁵

Jackson's understanding of the eucharist, cannot be described as anything other than Protestant, but his conception of the true church revolved around the sacraments at the centre of the parochial liturgy.

In 1578 Nicholas Luddington, Grocer, as governor of the Merchant Adventurers tried to prevent Walter Travers, the presbyterian minister to the Company, from conducting service without the Prayer Book.⁶⁶ Luddington's will, however, drawn up in August 1589 shows him to have held a Protestant conception of saving faith;

I doe commende my soule vnto the merciful goodnes of almightie God, the Father, and to his Sonne, Iesus Christe whome it hathe pleased the father of his great mercy and vnspeakable

⁶⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/67, fo. 133^v.

⁶⁶ S. J. Knox, *Walter Travers: Paragon of Elizabethan Puritanism* (London, 1962), pp. 45-48.

loue, the which he beareth vnto mankinde, to sende his said onelie begotten sonne; whoe beinge of one substance with the father to become man, and borne of that blessed virgin Marie, and concieued by the holie ghost, whoo liued here in earth and was conversante amongst men, woorkinge great mirackles and wonders, as appeareth written by the fower Evangelists; the which I stedfastlie and thoroughe his inspiracion into me by the holie ghost I doo comprehend by faith, who for my saluation after that he had fullfilled his father's will suffred most painefull death and passion vppon the crosse, offeringe himselfe for a sacrifice to purchase redemption and forgiuenes of my sinns and all mankinde, and the thirde daie hee rose againe accordinge to the scriptures for our iustificacion and also ascended into heauen, where he sitteth on the righte hande of the father, beinge the onelie mediator bewtixte God and man. In this catholique and appostolicall faith I beseeche that most glorious and blessed trinitie to increase in me, with an assured hope of my ressurection and saluation by the merits of Christ Jesus, even at my departinge from this transitory life, amen.⁶⁷

The strong influence of the creed upon the wording of this preamble, and Luddington's earlier insistence on adherence to the Prayer Book, suggests that his piety was formed through the prayer book liturgy of regular divine service. Yet his acceptance of the creed of the church of England as the 'catholique and apostolical faith' makes him no less a protestant than the members of Walter Traver's congregation at Antwerp.

From the 1560s an increasing number of wills emphasise the role of Christ alone as the way to salvation, in some cases, as in that of John Mynors, suggesting a Protestant interpretation of justification by faith alone. Mynors made his will in April 1567;

ffirst I bequeathe my soull into the handes of allmightie God, our heavenlie ffather, thorough the merites, deathe and passion of his onely sonne Jhus Christe our redemour, by whose oblacion and sacrifice once offered vppon the alter of the crosse for the synnes of the worlde I hope to be saved, refusing and renowncing all other meanes besides hym whom also I believe and confesse to be the alone mediatour betwene God and manne, sitting on the right hand of his ffather making contynuall intercession for me and all others his electe and

⁶⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/86, fo. 15^r.

chosen people.⁶⁸

The explicit rejection of the mediation of the saints, and the emphasis on the unique nature of Christ's sacrifice occur in a number of the Elizabethan wills, and Mynors is here putting a stronger emphasis upon a preamble element that is often expressed in more concise form.⁶⁹

First I bequeath my soul to almighty God, notwithstanding though I be an offender and very grievous, yet now repenting and bewailing my wickedness, yielding myself wholly to his mercy, do not mistrust, but steadfastly do believe that he shall receive me according to his promise, not for any worthiness of mine own part but only for the worthy merits of his own and only son my saviour and only redeemer Jesus Christ, who for my sins hath suffered death upon the cross, and for my wickedness hath shed his most precious blood; in this faith and belief I commit my soul unto the living God, and my vile body to the earth, when and where it shall please God to call me at his pleasure out of this world.⁷⁰

Thus Alderman William Bond in October 1574.

In April 1575 Alderman Francis Barnham bequeathed his soul 'to almighty God, beseeching him to receive the same for Jesus Christ's sake, by the merits of whose death and passion I believe most steadfastly to have remission and pardon of all my sins, and to have the fruition of eternal life, and by no other way or mean',⁷¹ while in 1583 Arthur Rainscroft, Innholder, thought that man's merits for his own justification should be

⁶⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 98^r.

⁶⁹ E. g. Thomas Bannister, Skinner, left his soul 'vnto allmightie God, trustinge only to be saued throughe the merits of Jesus Christe and by no other waye or meane': PRO, PROB. 11/58, fo. 9^r, 20 June 1568. Edward Bright, Ironmonger, hoped through the merits and passion of Christ 'holly to be saued, and to haue cleane remission and forgyvenes of all my synnes and by no other meanes nor otherwise, this is my very beleve': PRO, PROB. 11/57, fo. 42^r, 4 January 1575.

⁷⁰ PRO, PROB. 11 58, fo. 183^r.

⁷¹ PRO, PROB. 11 58, fo. 76^v.

'no otherwise esteemed than as a fowle stayned clothe'.⁷² Thomas Audley, Skinner, was equally forthright in December 1590:

ffirste I comit bothe my bodie and soule into the handes of the allmightie by whose mercifull eternell election I doe faithfullie and without all waveringe doubtfullnes hope and truste, accordinge to his promises declared in his hollie worde, to be saued by the onlie death and bludsheddinge of mine onlie redeemer, the onlie mediator and intercessor betwixte God and man Jesus Christe, vtterlie detestinge and renouncinge all other helpe, mediacion and meritt of man or angell whatsoeuer.⁷³

Of course, Catholic testators before the Reformation had occasionally emphasised the role of Christ above all other forms of mediation for the soul, renouncing their own merits and the efficacy of good works without faith, but by the mid-1570s it seems likely that preambles such as those cited above, particularly those made by testators prepared to invest significant sums of money to provide for preaching, do represent a basically Protestant conception of justification by faith alone. Indeed, it is possible that the intensified Christocentrism of Marian Catholicism helped prepare the laity for an acceptance of the supremacy of faith over the efficacy of their own good works. It is, however, much rarer to find statements of faith which go further and reflect unquestionably Reformed concepts of predestined election and reprobation.

In November 1578 John Mabb the elder, Goldsmith, left his soul 'into the handes of allmightie God, in hope and suer confidence of eternall lief in his everlasting kingedome amongst his holye saintes and angells, and that through th'onlye merittes and desertes of myne alone savioure Jhesus Christ, whereof I haue certein assurents throughe the certificatt of his oneleye spirite, my comforter, which testifieth and witnesseth the same to

⁷² PRO, PROB. 11/65, fo. 208^r.

⁷³ PRO, PROB. 11/80, fo. 132A^r.

my soule and conscience, by meanes of which faithe I haue laied suer houlde of of the mercye and favoure of God, three personnes distincte and one onlye deitie',⁷⁴ while in 1589 William Ormshawe, Grocer, believed 'assuredly...to haue and enioye everlastinge lif in body and sowle in [God's] eternall kingdome, through Jesus Christ his sonne, my alone saviour and redemer, whereof I haue full assurance through the holy spirite of God, my oneley comforter'.⁷⁵

Likewise, the term 'the elect' had sometimes been used by Catholics to describe those saved from damnation. Indeed in 1584 the suspected recusant Catholic, Alderman John Cooper, bequeathed his soul to 'almighty God, my maker, saviour and redeemer Christ Jesus, in whome and by whose most blessed death, passion, resurrection and ascension into heaven I hope and believe assuredly to be saved, and to be received into the number of the elect people of God'.⁷⁶ From the 1560s use of the term 'the elect' in preambles of similar type becomes much more widespread, employed in a general sense to signify the number of saved souls, but also becoming associated with a Protestant interpretation of the saints as exemplary souls rather than as mediators in their own right. It is thus difficult to be certain that the will of John Baker, Mercer, dated to 8 September 1568, reflects a residual Catholic loyalty in leaving Baker's soul to 'almightye God and all to all the holye companie of heavenn', particularly since he willed 'certaine mynsters and preachers...suche as cann edyfie

⁷⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/65, fo. 6^r.

⁷⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/77, fo. 135^v. C.f. preamble to will of Walter Fish, Merchant Taylor, 10 September 1578; 'ffirst I giue thancks to allmighty God my lovinge ffather for all those his gracious benefytts which he hath freely bestowed on me (most vnworthie synner) in and by his onely sonne, our lorde and saviour Jesus Christ, by whose meanes and merytts I am assured through the testimonye of his holye spiritt that I shalbe partaker with the righteous in the generall resurrection': PRO, PROB. 11/68, fo. 421^v.

⁷⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/67, fo. 182^v.

the people best with preachinge of Gode's worde' to to deliver a sermon every Sunday and holiday for a year.⁷⁷ The 'protestantisation' of the saints is more clearly expressed in Alderman Sir Thomas Rowe's preamble, written in May 1569:

...and first and before all things I consider the great goodness of God to me showed... and do now verily and utterly, with all my heart renounce this wretched world and commit me to his infinite mercy, and do give and bequeath my soul into his holy and most merciful hands, and do most humbly beseech almighty God to take me to his mercy and grace, and to associate me to his holy and elect saints. And I faithfully trust and believe my sins to be forgiven me throughout [sic] the death and passion of my saviour, our lord Jesus Christ my God, the second person in Trinity, and shall be partaker of the joys everlasting with the saints, prepared for me and all others through the same his blessed death and passion, and glorious resurrection, which faithully trust and believe in the same.⁷⁸

In certain cases, however, election terminology must reflect Reformed concepts of predestined damnation and reprobation. This is probably the context for Richard Barnes' desire 'to be one of the elect written in the book of lief' in 1598.⁷⁹ In 1588 Henry Campion, Mercer, left his soul 'to the eternall and everlasting God, three persons and one in substaunce, my creator, redemer and sanctifier, hoping by the precious bloudshedding of Jesus Christ, the second person in the Trinitye, to enioye and inheritt with him the perpetuall blessednes *provided and ordeyned from before all*

⁷⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 42^r.

⁷⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/52, fo. 200^r. Cf. will of Alderman Richard Staper, 1 June 1601: '...I give and bequeath my soul to almighty God, my maker, saviour and redeemer, trusting and nothing doubting but that for his infinite mercy's sake, set forth in the precious blood of his dearly beloved son Jesus Christ, our only saviour and redeemer, he will receive my soul into his glory, and place it in the company of heavenly angels and blessed saints, which God grant me for his mercy's sake, amen', PRO, PROB. 11/112, fo. 120^r.

⁷⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/91, fo. 220^v. Barnes' will shows him to have been a friend of several strongly Protestant members of the City elite, including Bartholomew Barnes whom he made overseer.

beginning for the elected company appointed to be saved'.⁸⁰ This appears to reflect a Reformed predestinarianism, perhaps with an emphasis on the more rigorous supralapsarian, or 'double' predestination, which posited that election and reprobation had been determined before the fall of man. Peter Simmonds, Mercer, had his will written in April 1586, the preamble to which clearly reflects a fully Reformed conception of supralapsarian reprobation and election:

ffirste I here pronounce and beleve in th'allmightie God my heavenlie father, who withoute begininge of his gracious goodnes in time made me and all the worlde, and in his saide mercie, when we were not, *chose and elected before the creation of this mortall worlde all suche as in Christe shall receaue the fruition of his glorious kingdome*, whereof I saie and hope I am one, so that in conclusion *all thinges is done in his maiestie's providence and foreknowledge*, bothe heretofore presente and in the ende. Secondlie I do beleve in Jesus Christe...who in his mercie hathe redeemed me in his glorious deathe and all others Gode's chosen from sinne, deathe and hell, and now, sittinge at the right hande of God the father, dothe make intercession for vs his people, renounsinge and forsakinge all other mediation or redemption besides him...so that all other meanes broughte in by man and his invencion contrarie to this oure faithe, I accompte it to be moste blasphemous vnto the precious bludde of this oure savioure Christe. Thirdlie I do beleve in God the holie ghoste, which as he is witheoute begininge so dothe he of his gracious goodnes sanctifie me and all other the ellecte people of God.⁸¹

Alderman Sir William Glover provides an equally clear example of Reformed predestinarian thinking in his will dated to 17 October 1603:

...I bequeath and recommend my soul into the hands of my most merciful and gracious Lord God...being most certainly persuaded that my sins (which be most grievous and heavy) are forgiven and my election sealed up by the only blood and merits of my lord and saviour Jesus Christ, by whom only and by none other means my redemption is made sure and certain, according to the unspeakable love of God towards mankind *in his eternal and unsearchable counsell and purpose before the*

⁸⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/73, fo. 102^v.

⁸¹ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 82^r.

*foundations of the world were laid and which he hath revealed in the latter age of the world for the comfort of his elect by his most holy scriptures, the only way to know his good will and pleasure...*⁸²

However, the rarity of trustworthy evidence for personal understanding of the nature of divine grace means that it is largely in the external patterns of piety that we must trace the development of the religious life of London's rulers, and attempt to distinguish between the puritan and the conformist.

Alderman William Dane drew up his will in September 1563. He bequeathed his soul to God in Trinity, 'the which hast made me and given thy only son to become man and die for my sins, and the third day he rose again for my justification, and opened the kingdom of heaven to all true believers. Also I bequeath my body to the earth to be buried in Christian burial according to the order of Christ's church. This I believe whether I live or die; I am our Lord's. I hope that I shall find both grace and mercy for my sins of God the father, even for Jesus Christ's sake, in him I believe, he my redeemer, he liveth for ever and ever. This my faith and hope I lay up in my mind, the mind of my soul, trusting only to be saved through the merits of Jesus Christ, God and man, which is in heaven on the right hand of God the father. He shall in the end of the world be judge over all the quick and the dead, to whom with God the father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, for ever, world without end, amen'.⁸³

Dane left £50 in order to provide a schoolmaster 'that feareth God' to teach poor men's children in Bishop's Stortford and bring them up 'in the knowledge of God', and left a bequest to the poorest scholars in Oxford and Cambridge 'to set out God's glory'. His bequests to the poor were 'in

⁸² PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 344^r.

⁸³ PRO, PROB. 11/55, fo. 216^v.

God's behalf', and a further legacy was set aside for 'a learned man that feareth God' to preach a sermon for thirty Sundays after Dane's death. Dane's acceptance of the ceremonial and liturgy of the established Church, however, is apparent from his request for burial 'according to the order of Christ's Church', that is he took the form of service of the English Church as that of the true Church of Christ, and his bequest of £10 to his parish, St. Margaret Moyses 'to maintain God's service'.⁸⁴ Dane cannot be described as a 'Perkins-style' Protestant, but it is clear that his commitment to the religious order of the established Church makes him, in the English context, a Protestant.

Similarly, in 1570 Alderman Sir Thomas Leigh, Mercer, required burial 'according to the laudable custom of the Church of England', left alms to the poor 'in the honour of Christ Jesus, our lord and saviour', required the poor recipients of his funeral charity to attend the service and remain throughout the sermon, and set aside £6 for twelve sermons after his decease.⁸⁵ These men, and those like them, were not puritans, and there is no evidence that they held Reformed beliefs, but such a level of voluntary public participation in the piety of the established Church clearly makes them Protestant in a very real sense. Indeed, the continuity in much of the lay pattern of testamentary piety over the Reformation period suggests a means by which the religious changes in the parishes were absorbed into lay religious culture, in a manner more positive than the rather negative implications of Dr. Haigh's definition of the 'parish anglican'. During the Elizabethan period a wide range of traditional lay pious practices acquired strongly Protestant overtones. Not least among these was the continuing demand among the social élite for burial in their

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 217^r.

⁸⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/53, fos. 346^r-347^r.

parish churches, despite the growing problem of lack of space in the traditional burying grounds.⁸⁶

This continuity of traditional practice within an altered religious context was an important element in the acceptance of the parish worship of the Elizabethan Church as integral to the religious life of the community. This is particularly clear in the sites chosen by the London rulers for their burials. The chancel and choir, and connecting chapels, remained the favoured site for burial, although the presence of the high altar with its associations with transubstantiation were gone. In 1568 John Nashe, Draper, requested burial in the chancel of his parish church, St. Martin Orgar, 'againste or near my seate where I use comonlye to sitt'.⁸⁷ In 1569 William Andrews, a member of Common Council in the mid 1560s and free of the Vintners' Company requested burial 'in the parishe church of Seint Dunstone in the East of London in the north chapell over against my pewe there'.⁸⁸ Thomas Colsell, Mercer, requested in 1593 a burial in the high Chancel 'between the communion table and the wall of the south side of the same chancel'.⁸⁹ Thus the old customs remained, together with the association of the parish church as the symbolic centre of the parish community, but their precise religious meaning was transformed. The place of burial had lost the connotations of salvation attached to the proximity of the sacrament, and had become more an expression of social status, linked to regular and customary attendance at divine service, emphasised by the numerous requests for burial near the pew

⁸⁶ V. Harding, "And one more may be laid there": the Location of Burials in Early Modern London', *London Journal* 14 (1989), pp. 112-129.

⁸⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/50, fo. 45^v, 24 February 1568.

⁸⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 33^v.

⁸⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/85, fo. 172^v.

in which the testator had customarily sat for the service.⁹⁰ The liturgical connotations of the favoured burial site involved not the sacrifice of the mass, but the Protestant eucharist at a communion table, while the strong preference for burial near the grave of a parent or spouse reinforced the sense of continuity with the past despite the diminished presence of the dead brought about by the abandonment of the doctrine of purgatory.

A similar development may be observed in relation to funeral practice. Traditionally some testators had requested that their funerals be performed 'without pomp and vainglory', and had prescribed limits to the quantities of money handed out as doles to the poor, and to the number of mourners in black to attend the service.⁹¹ Much of the funerary pomp associated with burials disappeared after 1558. To some extent this represented a general trend in Western European mortuary practice, although testamentary restrictions on the use of funeral pomp occur increasingly frequently during Elizabeth's reign.⁹² Emmanuel Lucar made detailed provisions for his own funeral in March 1573;

I will my body to be wrapped in linnen clothe, and to be putt in a coffyn, and to be buryed in the vawte which at my cost and charge was and is made in the churche yarde of the parishe churche of St. Butolphe next Billingsgate in London...And I will that so many scutchions of my armes and also of my wyves armes be made, paynted vpon paper as shalbe requysite, and

⁹⁰ E. g. PRO, PROB. 11/42B, fo. 447^v (John Whitepayne, Merchant Taylor, 9 November 1559); 57, fo. 291^v (William Bowley, Fishmonger, 24 February 1575); 65, fo. 304^v (William Barnard, Draper, 13 July 1583); 66, fo. 270^r (John Best, Haberdasher, 10 February 1584); 74, fo. 346^v (John Rogers, Grocer, 20 February 1587); 116, fo. 118^r (Robert Cambell, Ironmonger, 12 June 1609).

⁹¹ E. g. PRO, PROB. 11/23, fo. 90^v (Stephen Lunne, Haberdasher, 7 July 1528); 24, fo. 175^r (Ellis Draper, Haberdasher, 16 July 1527); 25, fo. 116 (Sir Thomas Baldry, Mercer, 10 July 1534); 30, fos. 41^r (Thomas Trappes, Goldsmith, 28 February 1543), 96^v (Robert Palmer, Mercer, 5 May 1544); 37, fo. 219^r (Robert Warner, Draper, 29 April 1555); 38, fo. 150^r (Humphrey Packington, Mercer, 14 September 1555).

⁹² Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, *passim*.

that the same scutchions shalbe fastened and fixed vppon the herse clothe and ornaments vsed at my buriall. And I will my body lying in the said coffyn to be bourne at the day of my buryall from my said house with sixe pore men to the parishe churche...And that a godly and well lerned preacher be appoynted then and ther to preache. And I desire the said preacher then and theare to instructe and perswade the awdience well to consider and knowe that all fleshe shall dye and tourne to earthe the tyme vncerten. And I will the sermon and ceremonies being donne theare for me, that the said sixe pore men shall beare my body from the said churche vnto the said vaute, and the preest and clark of the same parishe churche, having sayde the prayers accustomed at the buryall of the deade, that the said pore men...shall putt and lay my body fourthwith in the said vawte...And concernyng the ringing of bells at the daie of my buryall I referre yt to the discession of myne executors.⁹³

Lucar provided black mourning gowns for his wife, his children and their spouses and his servants to wear at the funeral, and requested the livery of his company to attend the burial. This is a typical form of burial for an Elizabethan commoner anxious to keep pomp and expense to a decent minimum. Indeed, the fact that the funeral of a prominent citizen was as much a public as a private occasion imposed certain obligations beyond private considerations. Thomas Polle, Cordwainer, willed his body to be brought to the church 'with priestes and clarkes convenient, soe that thereby neither anye lawe or ordynaunce be infringed, or anye iuste cause to the people gyven to be offended'.⁹⁴ However such restrictions began to acquire a specifically non-Catholic interpretation. Henry Viner in April 1571 simply required burial 'according to the vse of the Church of England',⁹⁵ while others explicitly denied the spiritual utility of the usual customs. Richard Peter, Brewer, made an earnest request of his wife Anne 'that, in respecte of singinge and iangling of bells and wearinge of

⁹³ PRO, PROB. 11/56, fo. 125^{r-v}.

⁹⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 147^r (18 January 1569).

⁹⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/54, fo. 316^v.

black gownes and blacke coates, which my conscience beareth me witnes is altogether superfluous and vayne, and neither good nor profitable to my soule', she keep them to a minimum.⁹⁶ Richard Whitehill, Merchant Taylor, exhorted his executors 'that eschewinge all vaine and superfluous charges on my saide buriall or dynner, they will chefly releave the poore'.⁹⁷ In 1587 Thomas Sares, Haberdasher regarded the custom as inimical to the maintenance of friendship and social unity; in effect, as subversive of the social mores it supposedly expressed and reinforced.

forasmuche as sumptuous burialls neyther pleasethe God nor profitethe the sowle of him as it is made for or done, butt rather doeth breede and increase malice and hatred amongst allies, frendes and neighbours for that all of them receyveth nott, ne hathe legaties and bequests to them willed and bequeathed alike of their allie and frend departed, whiche mallice and hatred muche displeasethe God.⁹⁸

Other testators, however, regarded excessive funerary pomp as unchristian, or as symbolic of popery. George Dodd, Vintner, in 1586 ordered that 'no black gownes or other garments shalbe giuen at my buriall, nor other olde serimonies then vsed but Christian manner',⁹⁹ but such scruples were already being applied in a more specific religious context. Walter Fish, Merchant Taylor, in 1578 willed

there shalbe no blackes or suche like vayne pompe or ceremonye vsed, or in myne owne opinyon doe rather agree with poperie and paganisme than with the rule of the ghospell of God; but I will that my bodye be comely and in Christian manner according to the same ghospell comytted to buriall as seede sowne to happye springing vpp and rysinge agayne to a joyfull

⁹⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/85, fo. 59^r. C.f. Richard Reynolds, Draper, 'I will that there be no ringing for me, but a knell': PRO, PROB. 11/61, fo. 79^r (3 February 1579).

⁹⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/48, fos. 351^v-352^r (30 May 1565).

⁹⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/72, fo. 446^r.

⁹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/69, fo. 353^v.

resurrection,¹⁰⁰

while alderman Richard Goddard refused to provide a distribution of alms at his burial in April 1604, or any other such customs, 'for I conceive that to be but a popish imitation of such as were desirous after their death to have their soul prayed for'.¹⁰¹

In this way a practice which had carried with it little religious significance beyond a general acceptance of the vanity of worldly things in the face of God might be co-opted to stand for the righteous practice of the true catholic Church, defined in opposition to the Church of Rome, and the popular customs increasingly denigrated as pagan.¹⁰²

The demolition of the Catholic religious system stripped the City Companies of their role in providing for post-mortem intercession for their deceased brethren, but not their importance in the funerary arrangements of the testator. Indeed, by the 1570s the companies were receiving funds again for religious purposes, in a clearly Protestant context. In April 1576 William Parker, Draper, left property to his Company on condition the master and wardens pay £6 a year to the churchwardens of St, Antholin's 'to bestowe vppon a learned preacher to reade a lecture of divinitie twoe dayes in a weeke for ever'.¹⁰³ John Lute, Clothworker, left his company with sufficient funds in 1585 to provide for an annual sermon in the parish

¹⁰⁰ PRO PROB. 11/68, fo. 422^r.

¹⁰¹ PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 272^v.

¹⁰² Descriptions of the Church of England as the true, Catholic church begin to appear from the mid 1560s. Alderman William Beswick left his soul to 'almighty God in Trinity, and trusting in the merits of the precious death, passion and resurrection of his only son Jesus Christ, and other his works for my whole redemption, by the which, through his mercy, I trust to be saved from death, hell and sin according as it was promised to every true member of his Catholic Church, of the which I do trust by his grace assisting, I shall depart this present life, a true member of the same': PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 107^r, 14 April 1567.

¹⁰³ PRO, PROB. 11/58, fos. 95^v-96^r.

church of St. Michael Cornhill,¹⁰⁴ while Robert Offley, Haberdasher, left £200 to his Company in July 1589 to purchase lands in order to maintain one of two scholarships in divinity at the universities, and gave them the responsibility for nominating the holder of the scholarship. The other was to be maintained and nominated by the Mayor and aldermen of the City.¹⁰⁵ In 1596, Thomas Aldersey referred to the tithes of Bunbury in Cheshire which he had already given to the Haberdashers' Company 'for maintenaunce of a preacher and minister'.¹⁰⁶

However, the reinterpretation of old customs into a Protestant framework is more clearly seen in the rulers' charitable bequests. The Pre-Reformation Church had laid stress upon the necessity to provide for the poor within the context of the seven corporal works of mercy, feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, relieving the prisoner and so forth.¹⁰⁷ Such charitable giving continued, and arguably may have increased, during and after the mid-Tudor Reformation. While indiscriminate charity had already been tempered by the distinction between those deserving of charity and the thriftless, the Elizabethan poor laws enshrined the various categories of the poor in statute law, and the traditional forms of charity were taken over and translated into a Protestant world view. As late as 1570, John Long, Clothworker, requested his wife to bestow the disposable residue of his estate 'for my sowle's healthe in deades of pittie and charitie amonges all suche as she shall see cause',¹⁰⁸ but this appears to have been an

¹⁰⁴ CLRO, HR 268 (22), Membr. 10^v.

¹⁰⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/87, fo. 234^r.

¹⁰⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/93, fo. 68^r.

¹⁰⁷ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 313–327, 357–362.

¹⁰⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/52, fo. 265^r.

isolated instance of a clearly Catholic interpretation of the religious role of charity. Under Elizabeth, the religious impulse behind almsgiving, together with the strong emphasis on the moral uprightness required of the deserving poor, was increasingly interpreted in a distinctively Protestant context.

Many testators, indeed, recorded the explicitly religious nature of charity; in 1563 John Essex, Haberdasher, left two shillings each to twenty poor householders of his parish of St. Margaret New Fish Street 'suche as be honeste, and to none suche as goe from dore to doore', and to 'suche as be honeste poore househoulders [of the town of Malling] and liue in the fere of God'.¹⁰⁹ John God, Merchant Taylor, left his residual estate to his wife Elizabeth 'to haue good consideracion of of herselfe, and well and soberly to use it and the rest, to Godde's honor and her owne comforte'.¹¹⁰ However, by the late 1560s testators were lending this religious impulse an unmistakably Protestant flavour, through bequests to the reformed stranger churches in the City, and through various conditions regarding the religious status of the recipients of their alms. In 1568 Alderman Henry Beecher left £100 to the three royal hospitals 'for their better maintenance and relief so that the poor in the same houses be kept, continued and maintained in such godly order as they now presently are, and for certain years past have been'.¹¹¹ Henry Campion, Mercer, left an annual dole in perpetuity to 'the good, godly and religious poore people'

¹⁰⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/47, fo. 60^r-^v. Thomas Brown, Scrivener, likewise excluded 'all suche poore as goe a begginge from doore to doore' from his almsgiving: PRO, PROB. 11/65, fo. 8^r-^v (20 September 1581).

¹¹⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/60, fo. 179^v.

¹¹¹ PRO, PROB. 11/53, fos. 74^v-75^r.

of his parish, Allhallows Thames Street, in 1588.¹¹² By 1612 Alderman Sir Thomas Cambell was ordering that of his bequest to poor widows in his parish of St. Lawrence Old Jewry, his executors were to give none above twenty shillings or below ten, 'wherein the godliest as nigh as they can discern shall have the greatest portions'.¹¹³

Indeed, for some testators the category of the deserving poor was coming to imply not merely moral probity, but as a necessary corollary, adherence to the true religion. This coincided with a growing rigour in the definition of the Catholic recusant. In 1578 John Mabb the elder, Chamberlain of London, left £50 for the 'poore, sycke, sore, lame and comfortles people inhabitinge within the Cittie of London...prouided allwaies that no notorious swearer, adulterer or drunkerd shall have anye parte of this my legacie in annye wise'.¹¹⁴ His son, John Mabb the younger, made his will five days after his father, leaving a weekly dole of eightpence, through the agency of the Goldsmiths' company, to a poor man and woman of the Company 'provided allwayes that the saide poore man and pore widowe be poore indeede and suche as haue greate neede indeede, and be of honest behavyour and good conversacion, and no drunckarde nor swearer'.¹¹⁵ The will of David Smith, embroiderer to the queen, reflects a more rigorous elaboration of the Protestant conception of the deserving poor. In April 1587 He left six new almshouses to the City; their occupants were to be widows

¹¹² PRO, PROB. 11/73, fo. 103^r. For similar bequests see also PRO, PROB. 11/69, fo. 325^v (John Marden, Merchant Taylor, 1 July 1586); 72, fo. 157^v (Richard Walters, Girdler, 4 March 1588); 79, fo. 313^r (Hugh Henley, Merchant Taylor, 14 April 1592); 89, fo. 439^r (John Fox, Goldsmith, 14 March 1596); 96, fo. 329^r (Richard Platt, Brewer, 21 November 1600); 117, fo. 223^r (Abraham Campion, Clothworker, 24 February 1611).

¹¹³ PRO, PROB. 11/123, fo. 180^r.

¹¹⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/65, fo. 7^r.

¹¹⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 71^r.

suche as shall love to serve God aboue all other things. Also they shalbe no swearers nor blasphemours of the name of God, nor no drunkards nor skoulds, nor disquieters of other people, but shalbe of good and godly conversacion to the better example of others. Also they shall most usually use the parrishe of St. Bennett's nere Powle's Wharfe and especially vppon the Sabbothe except they goe to a sermon in some other place. Also I would haue them to be of good and sounde religion, lovers of the gospell of Jesus Christ.¹¹⁶

In 1580 William Lamb of the Clothworkers' Company directed that his domestic servants should be supported for six months until they found a new master, provided that 'they during all the time that they shall remaine without service doe repaire to the church and sermons and spend their time in other godly exercises'.¹¹⁷ At the same time, the category of those undeserving of help expanded to include papists within the ranks of those guilty of moral degeneracy. Thomas Audley, Skinner in 1590 left £100 as capital in order to provide loans to aid young members of the company in setting themselves up in business, provided that

good choice be allwaies made of euerie of the said younge men...that they maie be honeste and godlie Christians, and such as are like to thrive...for my meaninge and will is that noe vnthrift, prodigall spender, papiste nor dishoneste personn shalbe admitted to haue the vse or occupieng of anie parte of the saide somm'.¹¹⁸

Similarly, Alderman Richard Gourney made his bequest of alms to London's prisons of October 1596, conditional on the provision that none of the recipients be wilful debtors, or in prison for adherence to 'supersticious or hereticall religione'.¹¹⁹

Just as Catholic testators had linked the local parish community in

¹¹⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 129^{r-v}.

¹¹⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/62, fo. 157^v.

¹¹⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/80, fo. 132a^v.

¹¹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/89, fo. 269^v.

its religious setting and the concept of charity as efficacious for the salvation of the soul, so too did the Elizabethan social élite identify their bequests with the celebration of divine service. John Riley, Haberdasher, in 1577 provided a weekly dole of 1d. and a penny loaf to twelve poor persons of his parish 'betwixt the redinge of the Epistle and the gospell in the service time'.¹²⁰ Other testators elaborated on this. In 1586 Peter Simmonds, Mercer, provided for a weekly dole of bread to the poor in his parish in London and in Winchester Cathedral. A table was to be set up in the church, beneath his stone memorial slab bearing the representation of Simmonds kneeling in a gown with his hood upon his shoulder. The loaves of bread were to be set on the table, remaining there throughout the service and sermon before the poor, who were required to be present at the service and sermon, received their gift.¹²¹ Early in James I's reign Thomas Hunt, Fishmonger, left an annual revenue of 53s. 4d. in perpetuity to be distributed in amounts of 2d. to 2 poor men & women. Like Simmonds he provided a table to stand in the church, on which the money was to rest during the service before it was handed to the designated recipients. They in turn were to attend the service every Sunday, and kneeling at the grave slab of his father were to say the lord's prayer and pray to God for the King & Queen.¹²² In 1591 Thomas Ware, Fishmonger endowed a perpetual weekly bequest of 12d. to Collectors for the poor children of Christ's hospital, willing that 'the said collectors from time to time forever wryte my name in theire book of collecion with the twelue

¹²⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/59, fo. 234^r. For similar bequests see e.g. PRO, PROB. 11/58, fo. 23^r (Thomas Metcalf, Goldsmith, 13 March 1576); 68, fo. 448^r (Stephen Scudamore, Vintner, 20 March 1585); CLRO, HR 268 (22) Membr. 10^v (John Lute, Clothworker, 12 May 1585); PRO, PROB. 11/84, fo. 185^v (Anthony Calthorp, Mercer, 21 April 1593).

¹²¹ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fos. 83^r-84^v.

¹²² PRO, PROB. 11/129, fo. 63^v.

pence weekly to be by them received, for good ensample that others thereby maye be the more moved to give liberally to that godly collecion forever'.¹²³

The perpetuation of the memory of the testator through his charity, had become disassociated from the concept of post-mortem intercession for the soul. In some cases the religious rationale behind charitable benefaction had taken on an explicitly anti-Catholic slant, and in this context certain new forms of bequest were established which were wholly Protestant. French and Dutch religious refugees were initially installed in London in 1550. The stranger churches followed a Reformed discipline and doctrine, essentially along the lines of Zurich, and the close involvement of John Hooper in their foundation may have helped *them to obtain* a high degree of independence from the Bishop of London in their charter of incorporation.¹²⁴ Indeed the resultant tensions contributed to Bishop Ridley's dispute with Hooper over the vestments appropriate for a Protestant bishop to assume.¹²⁵ However, the churches attracted no bequests from the City rulers in this early period, and did not do so until a few years after their refoundation under tighter episcopal supervision in 1560, when reservations were expressed that the Reformed churches might provide the impetus for heterodox opposition to the church established by the Elizabethan regime.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, the endemic hostility of the London populace towards foreigners, particularly those skilled in high-quality textile manufactures, and the fears of the government that the

¹²³ PRO, PROB. 11/82, fo. 51^{r-v}.

¹²⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 20 (1964), p. 530.

¹²⁵ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23-45.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-144.

Genevan-style churches might lead its subjects astray, meant that the patronage of the City élite was essential to their wellbeing.¹²⁷

Bequests to the stranger churches represent one of the surest signs of protestant commitment, although it is difficult to assert that all those who did make such bequests were necessarily Calvinist in doctrine, or belonged to the puritan movement in the City; the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 elicited a significant upsurge in contributions to the stranger churches from English sources, including a large sum from Edwin Sandys, the Bishop of London.¹²⁸ Certainly some of the rulers were involved with the stranger churches through previous personal contacts with Reformed churches on the continent. The former Marian exile Thomas Heton attended the first election of elders for the French church in 1560, while John Bodley, another former exile and elder of the the English congregation under John Knox in Geneva, was himself elected an elder of the same church in 1571.¹²⁹ Several of the City rulers left bequests to the poor of the stranger churches throughout Elizabeth's reign, the earliest being John Mynors, Draper. In April 1567 he left £5 'to the ffrenche congregation here in London...to the handes of the Deacons or seigneours of the same churche or congregation, ffor that they knowe where most nede ys to distribute the same'.¹³⁰ One of the witnesses to Mynors' will, Alderman Francis Barnham, made a similar bequest in April 1575, leaving £20 'to the poor afflicted people for the gospell's sake, in the French church and Dutch church in London...to be distributed by the head or chief officers

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-295.

¹²⁸ Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 271-272.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 274; Collinson, 'Foreign Reformed Churches of London'.

¹³⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 98^v.

of either of the said churches'.¹³¹ Thomas Danser, Girdler, in 1590 left £10 to each of the churches 'with the helpe and advises of their elders, and to be suche as are zelouse in the religion'.¹³² The relatively small number of testators who remembered the stranger churches, however, probably represents a larger group within the City elite.¹³³ Alderman Richard Martin's will does not survive, but he contributed to the funds of the French Church during his lifetime, while Richard Culverwell, Mercer, seems to have acted as a prominent fundraiser for the cause of the Reformed religion.¹³⁴

However the most common form of pious bequest in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period was the provision of the sermon, either singly at the testator's funeral, or in a series over months or years afterwards. It had become customary by the Marian period, if not before, to provide for at least one sermon at the funeral, and sometimes for more. By the early 1560s a substantial proportion of London's ruling class were requesting sermons in greater or lesser numbers after their deaths, such that the more rigorous Protestants among the City rulers were beginning to doubt the efficacy or sincerity of all such bequests. Richard Walters, Girdler, refused to allow the use of black gowns at his funeral in 1588, or, more unusually, of a funeral sermon, 'not for that I doe not allowe of

¹³¹ PRO, PROB. 11/58, fo. 77^r.

¹³² PRO, PROB. 11/81, fo. 30^v.

¹³³ The other City rulers who left such bequests were William Coxe, Haberdasher: PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 145^r (6 May 1569); John Quarles, Draper: PRO, PROB. 11/60, fo. 18^v (12 October 1577); Alderman Sir Wolstan Dixie, Skinner: PRO, PROB. 11/83, fo. 1^v (15 May 1592); Alderman Sir James Harvey, Ironmonger: PRO, PROB. 11/65, fo. 309^r (29 April 1583); Alderman Sir Henry Anderson, Grocer: PRO, PROB. 11/105, fo. 210^v (1605); Alderman Sir Richard Goddard, Draper: PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 273^r (28 April 1604); Alderman Sir William Romney, Haberdasher: PRO, PROB. 11/117, fo. 336^r (1 March 1611) and William Quarles, Mercer: PRO, PROB. 11/133, fo. 114^v (24 August 1592).

¹³⁴ Collinson, 'Foreign Reformed Churches of London'.

preaching, for I am fullie perswaded it is the onelie waye declared in the worde whereby we must attayne to faithe, withoute the whiche we cannot be saved, but for that the funerall sermons are comonlie vsed for custome which in tyme maye growe to supersticion rather than for any profitable edificacion'.¹³⁵

Some left the choice of the preacher to their executors, but most requested that the most able preachers available be employed. The effects of this, perhaps paradoxically, are suggested by the will of the conservative Catholic alderman Sir Martin Bowes. Bowes made his will on 10 August 1565, requesting the services of the popular preachers Robert Crowley, John Philpot and John Gough in preaching a cycle of 52 sermons.¹³⁶ Crowley and Gough in particular were in demand for much of the funerary preaching of the early 1560s,¹³⁷ but by 1565 they and Philpot were emerging as the most recalcitrant members of the early puritan movement among London's clergy, specifically in the context of their opposition to clerical vestments.¹³⁸ Bowes demonstrated his disregard for such niceties by specifying that twenty parish clerks should bear his body to burial attired in surplices. Shortly before the will was proved Crowley, vicar of St. Giles' Cripplegate, refused to admit to his church six clerks who came to a funeral in surplices, yet Bowes made no attempt to change the will.¹³⁹ Bowes' gift of a gold cross adorned with pearls

¹³⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/72, fo. 156^r.

¹³⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 21^r.

¹³⁷ *Diary of Machyn*, e. g. pp. 229, 269, 285, 295-296, 311.

¹³⁸ J. Primus, *The Vestments Controversy: an Historical Study of the Earliest Tensions within the Church of England in the Reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth* (Amsterdam, 1960); P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Oxford, 1967), p. 71-83; Owen, 'London Parish Clergy in the Reign of Elizabeth I'.

¹³⁹ *VCH London*, p. 310.

to hang on the Lord Mayor's chain of office, marked him as anything but a stringent Protestant.

As the provision of a sermon became an indispensable element in lay religious provision, the proven abilities of preachers such as Crowley made their preaching an indispensable element in any important funeral service, at the same time as it made it a familiar part of the religious experience of the parishioner. Crowley's popularity as a preacher survived his submission to Archbishop Parker in 1566; in 1567 John Mynors requested Crowley and Philpot 'to preache in the parrishe of Sainte Marie Abchurche so manny sermones as they themselves shall thinck meete',¹⁴⁰ while Crowley remained in demand for much of Elizabeth's reign. In 1575 the printed edition of a sermon he had delivered at the Guildhall was dedicated to Lord Mayor Sir James Hawes.¹⁴¹

However, the requirements of custom alone do not explain most bequests for series of sermons. In 1581 Cuthbert Beeston, imprisoned in 1554 for selling prohibited books imported from exiled Edwardian ministers,¹⁴² left twenty shillings a year for ten years to provide quarterly sermons in his parish of St. Stephen Coleman Street, 'if the ghospell of oure savioure Jhesus Christe shalbe at the saide tyme and space trulye and syncerlie preached within this realme of Englande, as it is now...and if at anye tyme duringe the saide tenne yeres (as God defende) the ghospell shall cease and not be trewlie and syncerelie preached as nowe it is, that then duringe that tyme onelie the same twentie shillinges...shalbe geuen and distributed yerelie to and amongst the

¹⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 99^v.

¹⁴¹ See e. g. PRO, PROB. 11 61, fo. 79^r (Richard Reynolds, Draper, 3 February 1579); 75, fo. 287^r (Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor, 29 August 1587); R. Crowley, *A Sermon Made in the Chappel at the Gylde Halle in London* (1575), *RSTC*, 6092.

¹⁴² Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* VI, p. 561.

poorest people dwellinge in the saide parishe of Saincte Stephen'.¹⁴³
Close to the end of Elizabeth's reign, in August 1602, as uncertainty grew over the precise future of the realm's religious course, William Thorowgood, Draper, provided for six sermons a year in perpetuity in the Hertfordshire parish of Broxbourne,

for the advancement of the glorious gospell of Jesus Christ, or of God's true religion now set forth and established within this realm by public authority, and for the better instruction and erudition of the people of Broxbourne aforesaid in the true knowledge thereof to their eternal souls' health...for and during so long as God's true religion now established and used within this realm as afore, shall continue and be used within the same (which I hope will be forever)'.¹⁴⁴

Most testators might not express their provisions in such strong language, indeed the wills do not generally assume such a degree of personal prolixity until well into the 1580s, but it is difficult to see most significant contributions to preaching as formulaic custom, regardless of the religion represented by the parish church within which most such bequests were enacted. Alderman William Dane, in 1563 provided for a sermon every Sunday for thirty weeks 'to the edifying of the people of God',¹⁴⁵ while in 1567 Alderman William Beswick, a member of the Throckmorton jury under Mary, provided for twenty sermons after his death in his parish of St. Lawrence Pountney, ten of which were to be given by the returned Marian exile Thomas Becon.¹⁴⁶

The provision of sermons was often linked closely to the church service, the parochial context for charitable giving and the moral

¹⁴³ PRO, PROB. 11/64, fo. 53^r.

¹⁴⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/101, fos. 63^r-64^r.

¹⁴⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/55, fo. 216^v.

¹⁴⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 108^r; *The Early Works of Thomas Becon STP* ed. J. Ayre (Parker Society, Cambridge, 1843), pp. vii-xix.

correction of the parish community. Sir Martin Bowes required his sermons 'to begin immediately after one of the clock in the afternoon and to continue by the space of one hour or thereabouts till service begin, exhorting the people in the same sermon to flee from sin and to fall to repentance, and so to lead a new life', while John Cooper in 1584 required his preacher to 'exhort the people to amendment of life and repentance, considering by my example the end of all flesh'.¹⁴⁷

A common form of bequest is exemplified by John Baker, Mercer, who willed in September 1568 'to certaine mynysters and preachers as you [his executors] maye convenientlie gett them, suche as cann edifie the people best with preachinge of Gode's worde, firste at my buryall vj s. viij d. and euerye sondaye and hollydaye the whoale yeare followinge v s. for euerye sermonde'.¹⁴⁸ As we have seen, the distribution of charity was also closely linked to the Sunday service, and in this way the parishes continued to perform the same functions as before the Reformation period, but within an altered, Protestant pattern of public piety. The puritan alderman Sir Thomas Smythe provides a good description in 1622 of the integrated Protestant interpretation of charity, church and sermon which had emerged under Elizabeth, in his bequest of bread to the poor of three parishes in Kent, 'provided that none shall be partakers of the said gift of bread but such as shall usually frequent the church to hear divine service and the preaching of God's word, and shall receive the blessed sacrament of the Lord's supper'. The churchwardens were to 'appoint convenient pews or seats wherein the poor people that shall be thought fit to receive the said gift of bread may sit together to hear divine service

¹⁴⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 21^r; 67, fo. 182^v.

¹⁴⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/51, fo. 42^r.

and sermon every sabaoth day at the least'.¹⁴⁹

The sermon was thus an integral part of the lay religious experience. In 1584 a petition was delivered to the Mayor and Aldermen requesting the reinstatement of Thomas Barbor.¹⁵⁰ The puritan lecturer at St. Mary-le-Bow had been deprived for nonconformity during Archbishop Whitgift's drive for uniformity in doctrine and Church ceremonial. 112 persons, many of them common councillors and future aldermen,¹⁵¹ subscribed to the petition. A large majority of these resided in St. Mary's parish, and from a subsidy roll dating to 1589 it can be shown that the majority of those in St. Mary's and adjoining parishes wealthy enough to be assessed had subscribed.¹⁵² It is unlikely that all of the subscribers were puritans, although several such as Bartholomew Barnes, Richard Culverwell and Walter Fish clearly were, but the justification offered by the petitioners reflects the centrality of good preaching in the religious culture of the social élite;

It is not unknowne unto you...how much the good government of this honourable Citie, and due obedience in all her Maiestie's subjects, is nourished and increased by the ministerie and diligent preching of the Gospell, and that the interruption of the former exercises therof is the most readie waie to spread

¹⁴⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/147, fo. 38^{r-v}.

¹⁵⁰ A. Peel (ed.), *The Seconde Parte of a Register; Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1915), II, pp. 219-221.

¹⁵¹ Thomas Aldersey, Haberdasher; Robert Aske, Goldsmith; Bartholomew Barnes, Mercer; Richard Barnes, Mercer; John Blunt, Clothworker; Robert Brandon, Goldsmith; John Cage, Salter; James Collymore, Haberdasher; Thomas Cordell, Mercer; Richard Culverwell, Mercer; Baldwin Derham, Mercer; Thomas Egerton, Mercer; Cornelius Fish, Skinner; Walter Fish, Merchant Taylor; Gerrard Gore, Merchant Taylor; Richard Granger, Haberdasher; Leonard Halliday, Merchant Taylor; Thomas Hayes, Draper; James Hewishe, Grocer; Charles Hoskins, Merchant Taylor; John Lacey, Clothworker; Nicholas Moseley, Clothworker; Vincent Norrington, Grocer; William Ormshaw, Grocer; Andrew Palmer, Goldsmith; Thomas Pope, Merchant Taylor; Richard Proctor, Merchant Taylor; Gregory Smith, Merchant Taylor; Thomas Thomlinson, Skinner; Thomas Wade, Ironmonger; Richard Wright, Ironmonger.

¹⁵² *Visitation of London 1568*, pp. 148-164.

sinne, destroie vertue, to raise contempt of God and the magistrates, and finallie to disturbe and disorder the quiet peace, good government and true obedience.¹⁵³

Barbor had, of course, been preaching 'to the great furtherance of God's glorie, godlie life and due obedience, not onlie amongst manie citizens and their families, but allso manie straungers of divers parts of the Realme repairing thether', but it was the considerable independence enjoyed by lecturers paid and appointed by the parishes rather than the Church itself, which had worried the authorities.

At the same time, the more zealous City rulers took seriously their duty to help the propagation of the gospel in the country at large. Anthony Cage of the Salters' Company expressed his commitment to the active evangelisation of the countryside in 1581:

I will and bequeathe towardses the advauncement of the glorie of God, that my executors shall giue vnto some godlye preacher to be appointed by my sonne Anthonye Cage tenne pounds for thirtie sermons to be made in those parrishe churches within the countie of Suffolk at the discession of my sonne Anthonye Cage where the gospell hathe beene leaste preached since the Queene's maiestie's reign.¹⁵⁴

Similarly Alderman Sir William Elkin left properties to the Mayor and commonalty of London to maintain a reader 'to read service and teach children to read, as also the principles of their faith and sound religion in a chapel called Ore Chapel in the county of Salop, and in the parish of Mickleston'.¹⁵⁵ Elkin had been born in the village of Ore, and this form of bequest represents merely a development of the traditional practice whereby successful London citizens born outside the City remembered their

¹⁵³ Peel, *Seconde Parte of a Register*, II p 219

¹⁵⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/66, fo. 33^v.

¹⁵⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/82, fo. 241^r.

places of birth, providing charity or religious services to their ancestral communities.

The City élite endowed lectures rather more rarely than they did series of sermons, but they made an important contribution to the establishment of the sixty nine lectureships identified in London by Paul Seaver by 1604: '[the lecturer] was the product of an articulate and devout laity, and in the merchant class of London he found his principal patron'.¹⁵⁶ There are considerable grounds to suggest that many of those who did provide for lectureships were indeed puritan in religion. William Parker, Draper, a member of Common Council since 1553, was a parishioner of St. Antholin's, the centre for puritan preaching in Elizabethan London.¹⁵⁷ While leaving £10 for thirty sermons in the parish in April 1576, he also bequeathed properties to his company to support a divinity lecture twice a week in perpetuity.¹⁵⁸ There had been three lecturers at St. Antholin's since at least 1566, when the pulpit had belonged to Robert Crowley, John Philpot and John Gough. Parker's bequest was thus intended to support an existing institution which had previously been funded by a regular collection from the parishioners. The recipient of his stipend in 1576 was Robert Crowley.¹⁵⁹ In 1612 William Bennet, Fishmonger, added a further £50⁶ for and towards the better mayntenaunce

¹⁵⁶ P. Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships: the Politics of Religious Dissent 1560-1662* (Stanford, 1970), pp. 306-307; H. Gareth Owen, 'Lecturers and Lectureships in Tudor London', *The Church Quarterly Review* 162 (1961), p. 63.

¹⁵⁷ Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships*, pp. 173, 199, 347, 361-362. But cf. P. Collinson, 'Lectures by Combination', where it is argued that such lectures are not of themselves puritan. H. Gareth Owen argues that after the Vestments controversy, Archbishop Parker and Bishop Grindal used the vacancies left by deprived lecturers to promote young, orthodox preachers and improve the quality of clerical preaching in the City: 'Lecturers and Lectureships', p. 64.

¹⁵⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/58, fos. 95^r-96^r.

¹⁵⁹ I. M. Calder, 'The St. Antholin Lectures', *The Church Quarterly Review* 160 (1959), pp. 49-70.

of theire vsuall morninge lecture there to be contynewed for euer'. Bennet, a friend and patron of the presbyterian minister Walter Travers, was almost certainly himself a puritan.¹⁶⁰

In 1580 Alderman John Haydon provided £13 6s. 8d. yearly to the Mercers' Company to fund a weekly divinity lecture for ever in his parish church of St. Michael Paternoster, the preacher 'to be elected and chosen by the good discession and appointment of those which do choose to elect him that readeth the lecture for the Clothworkers in the same church'.¹⁶¹ In November 1580 John Rowe, Merchant Taylor, parishioner of Allhallows London Wall, provided for a lecture in his parish 'so longe as the ghospell is trewlie preached even as at this daye, otherwise to ende'. Rowe was an associate of John Bodley, whom he forgave a debt of £206.¹⁶²

In May 1592 Alderman Sir Wolstan Dixie left an annuity to the Skinners' Company, of which £10 was to be used every year to provide a lecture twice weekly in St. Michael Bassishaw,¹⁶³ while in April 1593 Anthony Calthorp, Mercer, provided for thirty sermons to be preached in the Mercers' Chapel after his death, but also funded a lecture for five years, to take place on market day in the town of North Walsham in Norfolk, his place of birth, 'for the better instruction and edificacion of the people there'.¹⁶⁴ Dixie certainly might be described as a puritan, but lectureships were not wholly the preserve of the godly. Alderman Sir Hugh Offley acted as a government informer upon the exiled English community in France during Mary's reign, yet seems irreproachably Protestant by the time

¹⁶⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/120, fos. 469^v, 471^v.

¹⁶¹ PRO, PROB. 11/66, fo. 108^r.

¹⁶² PRO, PROB. 11/64, fos. 264^v-265^r.

¹⁶³ PRO, PROB. 11/83, fo. 2^v.

¹⁶⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/84, fo. 185^r.

he made his will in 1594. Sir Hugh requested four sermons 'for the edifying of the people' in his parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, by whoever should happen to be the parson or minister at the time, while he also bequeathed £10 to the parishioners for a divinity lecture to last for a year after his decease. A significant difference between Offley and his puritan contemporaries lies in the shorter duration of his lecture.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, Offley exemplifies the transition in the religious culture of London's élite. Buried near his Catholic elder brother Thomas, he appointed his younger, Protestant, brother Robert an overseer, together with his Protestant son-in-law James Deane.

The duty to invest in the propagation of true religion by supporting the training of preaching clergy had been present throughout the early sixteenth century; Sir Christopher Ascue in 1534 had left funds to support two poor scholars at Oxford and Cambridge 'famous graduate men, used to preach, and preach according to mother Church'.¹⁶⁶ This custom continued throughout the sixteenth century. In 1577 Henry Elsing left properties in London to the Bakers' Company, to support 'twoe younge menne schollers that shalbe of honneste disposicion and of good reporte and behavior to proffite in learninge, which younge menne shall studye and labor in the knowledge of divinitie that theie maie be able, meete and proffittable members to teache and instructe God's people in the knowledge of his truth and veritie, sincerelie, trewlie and faithefullie'.¹⁶⁷ This truth and verity was, increasingly, interpreted as an explicitly Protestant one, particularly in the case of bequests to scholars at Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex colleges, Cambridge. There were several colleges known for their

¹⁶⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/84, fos. 295^v, 297^r.

¹⁶⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/27, fo. 239.

¹⁶⁷ PRO, PROB. 11 63, fo. 206^r.

puritan connections, mainly at Cambridge,¹⁶⁸ but the two most commonly referred by name by the London rulers were Emmanuel, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1584, and Sidney Sussex, founded in 1595. Both were regarded as 'puritan seminaries', headed by a succession of distinguished puritan clergy.¹⁶⁹

Most bequests to scholars were 'anonymous', specifying merely that the recipients had to be studying divinity and be of suitably decorous behaviour. Thus the specific naming of a college, or of persons at the universities through whom the funds were to be dispensed, assumes considerable significance. Alderman Anthony Gamage, Ironmonger, made his will in December 1571, two years before he was elected to the Court of Aldermen. He left a total of £60 to six poor scholars in each university. At Oxford he charged Thomas Sampson with nominating the recipients of the exhibition, while for Cambridge he requested Percivall Wiburn to perform the same function.¹⁷⁰ Sampson had refused a bishopric in 1559, largely because of his doubts regarding the vestiges of the Roman church in the ceremony and discipline of the English church, and by the time Gamage wrote his will had been deprived of the Deanery of Christ Church, Oxford in the wake of the vestments controversy.¹⁷¹ Wiburn, the 'apostle of Northampton', was equally recalcitrant in his opposition to 'popish' vestments, and unlike most of the London clergy suffered deprivation of his benefice in 1566 rather than submit to wearing the offensive apparel. Indeed, he was in the process of introducing a severely Reformed discipline

¹⁶⁸ J. Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 232-233.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 247-256; P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982).

¹⁷⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/61, fos. 355^v-356^r.

¹⁷¹ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 46-49, 73-83.

in Northampton, based upon that of Geneva, at the time Gamage named him in his will.¹⁷² It is clear that Gamage was trying to direct his funds towards scholars of a strongly Reformed style of churchmanship. After the foundation of Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex colleges, however, likeminded testators tended to leave their funds to those colleges, although the absolute number of such testators was never very great.¹⁷³

These elements of the religious culture of London's rulers represent the external manifestations of broadly accepted concepts of social duty and social status underpinned by a fundamentally religious rationale: forms of pious behaviour within which a wide spectrum of religious belief might be accommodated and through which it was articulated. The widespread acceptance of this pattern of piety arose at least in part because it involved a modification of the context and rationale of established custom, rather than the invention of wholly new forms.¹⁷⁴ Within this spectrum there were certain patterns of behaviour which might be identified as puritan. While the definition of the puritan has been debated at length, most of the discussion has centred upon issues of theology, difficult to trace in testamentary material, and, more importantly, upon the clergy rather than the laity, although the basis of all definitions is that the puritan manifested some degree of dissatisfaction with the Church as

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83, 141-142.

¹⁷³ PRO, PROB. 11/83, fo. 1^v (Sir Wolstan Dixie, Skinner, 15 May 1592); 82, fo. 242^v (Sir William Elkin, Mercer, 22 August 1592); 103, fo. 3^r (Sir John Harte, Grocer, 3 January 1604); 108, fo. 317^v (Sir Henry Billingsley, Haberdasher, 6 August 1606); 112, fo. 404^r; (Roger Owfield, Fishmonger, 26 November 1608); 119, fo. 37^r (Randall Manning, Skinner, 9 January 1612).

¹⁷⁴ Tessa Watt has distinguished a similar development in the adaption of popular printed broadsheet ballads and chap books into a distinctively non-Catholic context: *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

established by law.¹⁷⁵ An unusually explicit rehearsal of Reformed doctrine in a will preamble may suggest that the testator was sufficiently aware of Reformed theology, and sufficiently attached to its practical implications, to qualify as a 'Perkins-style Protestant', or an 'experiential predestinarian'. Yet it is clear that most preambles derive from a relatively limited stock of key ideas that might be articulated to accord with a wide spectrum of belief.

Perhaps the clearest testamentary indications of puritanism, are to be found in testators' connections with the stranger churches, and later in the reign, with the 'puritan seminaries' of Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges. Strongly anti-papist statements, an aversion to the accustomed ceremonial surrounding burial in particular on clearly religious grounds, and unusually rigorous moral and religious conditions placed upon charity are also significant. However, in order to define an individual's standpoint as puritan, several of these forms of bequest have to be present concurrently.

In the case of the stranger churches, the returning religious exiles certainly were drawn to the kind of church organisation that they found in Strasburg, Zurich and Geneva; Thomas Heton and John Bodley clearly retained a strong attachment to these forms. Given the level of their participation in the Genevan-style stranger churches it seems reasonable to regard Heton and Bodley, as puritans. John Mynors seems to have held aspirations for

¹⁷⁵ C. Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London, 1964), ch. 1; B. Hall, 'Puritanism, the Problem of Definition', in G. J. Cumming (ed.), *Studies in Church History* II (London, 1965), pp. 283-296; P. McGrath, *Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I* (London, 1968), ch. 2; L. J. Trinterud (ed.), *Elizabethan Puritanism* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 3-16; M. G. Finlayson, 'Puritanism and Puritans: Labels or Libels?', *Canadian Journal of History* 8 (1973); T. H. Clancy, 'Papist-Protestant-Puritan: English Religious Taxonomy, 1565-1665', *Recusant History* 13 (1976); R. I. Greaves, 'The Nature of the Puritan Tradition', in R. B. Knox (ed.), *Reformation, Continuity and Dissent: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Nuttall* (London, 1977), pp. 255-273; R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 1-9; P. Collinson, 'A Comment: Concerning the Name Puritan', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980); P. Lake, 'Puritan Identities', *JEH* 35 (1984), pp. 112-123.

further reform of the Church given his bequest to the stranger churches and to Crowley and Philpott in the immediate aftermath of the vestments controversy. Clearly the choice of these preachers did represent a considered choice on Mynors' part, yet he was no separatist. His burial place was located firmly in the context of his place within the parish congregation of St. Mary Abchurch 'nere vnto the place where comonlie I have vsed to sitt in the same churche', while the old concept of the Christian community in charity in the eyes of God was now informing the Protestant world view; Mynors left £8 to the livery of his company for a dinner at their hall 'for call theym together, whereby love and amytye may be the more increased amonges them, whiche God graunte'.¹⁷⁶

In the same way, Sir Richard Martin's connection with the stranger churches arose from more than sympathy for the victims of religious oppression; in 1578 he was the dedicatee of a printed edition of a Paul's Cross sermon by the presbyterian Lawrence Chaderton, condemning the Family of Love and reaffirming the Reformed doctrine of good works as a reflection of election. In 1583 Martin received the dedication of an abridged edition of Calvin's *Institutiones Christianae Religionis*,¹⁷⁷ while dedications of further devotional works followed throughout his life.¹⁷⁸ Martin's wife acted as stationer for some of the contentious literature written by

¹⁷⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/49, fo. 98^r. This was a relatively common provision throughout the Elizabethan period. William Bowley, Fishmonger desired burial 'as nere vnto my wieve's pew dore as conventientlie maie be': PRO, PROB. 11/57, fo. 291^v, 24 February 1575.

¹⁷⁷ L. Chaderton, *An Excellent and Godly Sermon. Preached at Paule's Crosse the XXVI Daye of October 1578* (1578), RSTC 4924; J. Calvin, *Institutiones Christianae Religionis...Epitome. In qua adversariorum obiectionibus breves responsiones annotantur* (1583), RSTC 4427; Maclure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp. 78, 211.

¹⁷⁸ G. Gifford, *A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Diuelles by Witches and Sorcerers, the Antiquitie of them: their diuers Sorts and Names* (1587), RSTC 11852; W. Barton, *Conclusion of Peace Betweene God and Man: Containing Comfortable Meditations* (1594), RSTC 4169.

the leading presbyterian Thomas Cartwright against Archbishop Whitgift.¹⁷⁹ His ostentatious motion to disallow an Act of common council dating to 1545 on the grounds that it had been made by papists infuriated Lord Mayor Sir George Barne, whose father had been sheriff at the time.¹⁸⁰ Martin's ultimate resignation from his aldermanry seems to have arisen more from the Court of Aldermen's desire to rid themselves of a difficult and disruptive colleague, unable to restrain divisive religious pronouncements, rather than a voluntary retirement on Martin's part.

There is considerable significance in the preachers and ministers whom a testator chose to support, beyond the relatively frequent bequests to the parish vicar or curate.¹⁸¹ Thus in August 1576 Alderman Nicholas Backhouse arranged for his funds to poor scholars in the universities to be distributed at Oxford by William Cole, President of Corpus Christi, and William James, Master of University College. At Cambridge the bequest was to be administered by John Whitgift, Master of Trinity College Cambridge and Dean of Lincoln, who would receive his first bishopric the following year, and John Still, Master of St. John's College, Canon of Westminster and future Bishop of Bath and Wells.¹⁸² Cole had been involved in the production of the Geneva Bible in exile during Mary's reign, and was a 'precise man' in the 1560s, like Robert Crowley whom Backhouse requested to preach his funeral sermon, but Backhouse seems to have chosen men who

¹⁷⁹ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 139-140.

¹⁸⁰ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 40. Barne himself appears to have been an orthodox Elizabethan protestant. As mayor he received the dedication of several religious and related works: W. Kempe, *A Dutiful Inuective Against the Moste Haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington* (1587), *RSTC*, 14295; W. Lightfoot, *The Complaint of England, Wherein it is Prooued that the Practices of Papists against the Realm are Unlawful* (1587), *RSTC*, 15595; Urbanus Regius, *The Solace of Sion and Ioy of Ierusalem, beeing a Godly Exposition of the LXXXVII Psalmes* (1587), *RSTC*, 20852.

¹⁸¹ E. g. PRO, PROB. 11/68, fo. 230^v (Sir Thomas Lodge, Grocer, 14 December 1583).

¹⁸² PRO, PROB. 11/62, fo. 213^v.

were pillars of the Church establishment, notable for their preaching and their orthodoxy. Indeed by 1576 Whitgift was already emerging as an opponent of the puritan movement within the Church, and Backhouse seems to have been employing the same methods as Anthony Gamage in order to promote scholars of a much more 'conformist' nature.¹⁸³

Likewise Alderman John Harding, Salter, who made the puritan Anthony Gamage and Robert Offley his executors in 1576, left a black gown to the leading presbyterian minister John Field, while requesting Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, Toby Matthew, or Robert Crowley to preach his funeral sermon.¹⁸⁴ It is difficult to describe Harding as a puritan; Nowell, Matthew and Crowley were Calvinist in theology, but only Crowley had had any prolonged participation in organised dissent from the established Church. By 1576 he was as much a member of the establishment as the bishops.

Bartholomew Barnes, Mercer, however, a parishioner of the puritan stronghold of St. Swithin's London Stone, displayed much closer links with the leaders of the presbyterian movement in his will dated 1 March 1603. He requested Stephen Egerton to deliver his funeral sermon, and left further bequests to Thomas Cartwright, Arthur Bright, Thomas Barbor and Richard Gardiner. Egerton had been suspended from preaching by Bishop Aylmer in 1583 for refusing to subscribe to Archbishop Whitgift's articles demanding conformity with the royal supremacy, the Prayer Book and the Thirty Nine Articles. A succession of suspensions followed throughout his career, his weekday lectures being suspended briefly in 1601 by Bishop

¹⁸³ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 48, 50, 52, 257, 366; Foster, I, ii, pp. 302, 801; *DNB* s. n. James, William; Collinson, *Godly People*, pp. 325-333; Venn, I, iv, p. 394; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 338, 342, 396-7; Venn, I, iv, p. 163; Cooper, II, pp. 467-469.

¹⁸⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/58, fo. 204^{r-v}.

Bancroft due to suspicions that he was less hostile to the rebellion of the Earl of Essex *than* he should have been. At the time Barnes made his will Egerton was curate of St. Anne's Blackfriars, where he ministered to a *strongly puritan congregation, largely made up of merchants' wives.*¹⁸⁵ Thomas Barbor had also been suspended in 1583, had refused Whitgift's offer to lift the suspension in return for his promising to conform, and was never to preach in London again, although he remained a member of London presbyterian conference. Arthur Bright, once rector of Barnes' parish, had proved recalcitrant in 1583, and had been forced to give evidence identifying the leaders of the presbyterian movement before the ecclesiastical high commission and Star Chamber in 1590-91. Richard Gardiner succeeded Barbor as Lecturer at St. Helen's Bishopsgate, and belonged to the London presbyterian classis throughout the 1580s, before being suspended for nonconformity in 1606, while Thomas Cartwright was the leading light of the clerical presbyterian movement, one of the chief targets of the hearings before high commission and Star Chamber in 1590-91 which effectively drove the presbyterian movement underground.¹⁸⁶

In this way, the bequests of puritan laymen represent essentially a stronger emphasis upon certain elements within a broader religious culture held in common with their 'conformist' contemporaries. This, to some extent, explains the lack of religious divisions within the Corporation; its conformity with the crown's religious directives allowed the implementation of social policies deriving from basic ideas of society and the moral role of religion shared by puritan, conformist and, indeed, Catholic members of the Corporation. Yet the impression left by the wills

¹⁸⁵ Seaver, *The Puritan Lectureships*, p. 215; Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 341, 447.

¹⁸⁶ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, *passim*.

is one of a lay religious culture that was profoundly Protestant by the 1570s, if not a little earlier, while a Protestant ascendancy among the City rulers was firmly entrenched by the mid 1560s.

Table Twelve: Religious Profile of Aldermen 1558-1580

Total Number Aldermen: 67

Total Aldermen of known religious allegiance: 41

Proportion of Aldermen of known religious allegiance: 61.34%

	Number of aldermen	% of total aldermen	% of total with known religious allegiance
Protestant	28	41.84%	68.5%
Protestant?	1	1.5%	2.44%
Puritan	4	5.98%	9.76%
Catholic	7	10.44%	17.06%
Catholic?	1	1.5%	2.44%

The relative conservatism of the aldermen is apparent from the proportion of Catholics present at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, although as noted above, after 1570 Sir Thomas Offley alone represented an influential Catholic presence on the bench. At the same time, although a puritan did not reach the bench until Anthony Gamage's election in 1573, the ascendancy of protestants seems to have been assured by the election in the early and mid 1560s of men already involved in reforming activities under Mary or earlier. If we compare the religious profile of common council for the sample dated 1564-66 and 1574-76, the comparatively more rapid spread of protestant loyalties will be apparent.

Table Thirteen: Religious Profile of Commoners 1564-1566

Total Number of Commoners: 221

Number of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 63

Proportion of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 28.5%

	Number of Commoners	% total commoners	% commoners of known religious allegiance
Protestant	54	24.44%	85.48%
Puritan	5	2.26%	7.94%
Catholic	4	1.82%	6.34%

Table Fourteen: Religious Profile of Commoners 1574-1576

Total Number of Commoners: 204

Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 62

Proportion of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 30.40%

	Number of Commoners	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance
Protestant	49	24.04%	78.74%
Protestant?	2	0.98%	3.22%
Puritan	10	4.9%	16.12%
Catholic	1	0.5%	1.62%

There are problems with both samples; religious identities can be assigned for just over a quarter of the commoners for 1564-66 and for slightly more for 1574-76. This partly results from the greater expense of significant religious bequests under a protestant regime; no longer was it possible to leave bequests of a few pence for lights, while the Reformed church provided no small scale alternatives. Nevertheless, it is significant that as early as the mid 1560s at least 22% of the commoners had, or later would, display significant signs of loyalty to the Elizabethan Church, as opposed to just 2% who were known Catholics, while a small core of more advanced protestant commitment had already been formed around the returned

religious exiles. This offers a clear contrast with the aldermen, who still numbered several Marian Catholic aldermen, and where there was as yet no puritan presence. Of the forty nine aldermen who served between the death of Mary and the end of 1570, seven are known to have been Catholics, while others, such as William Harper, had certainly attended mass as part of the institutional life of their livery companies under Mary. Twenty one display evidence of commitment to the Elizabethan Church, of whom seven are known to have held reformed convictions before 1558.

By the 1570s perhaps a quarter of the commoners at some point provide evidence of protestantism, while the puritan contingent has increased slightly. This body provided the puritan recruits to the court of aldermen from 1573 onwards, and would ensure a continuous and influential, if relatively small, puritan presence on the court of aldermen through the 1580s and 1590s. At the same time, the detectable Catholic presence has virtually disappeared, despite the growing frequency and intensity of searches for recusants from the 1570s.

Appendix Three: Aldermen and Common Councillors of London 1558-1580
 FOR KEY TO WLL BEQUESTS SEE pp 61-3

		Aldermen 1558-1580				
NAME	ALDERMAN SERV	MAYO ALTY	WLL DATE	WLL BEQUESTS		
Sir William Allen, Leatherseller/Mercer	1558, 59-86	1571-72	NW			
James Altham, Clothworker	1556-61		1582 P6			
Sir Alexander Avenon, Ironmonger	1558-80	1569-70	NW			
Nicholas Backhouse, Grocer	1577-80		1576 P4	G	+ P	
James Bacon, Fishmonger	1567-73		1573 P4	G H	P	
Eward Banks, Haberdasher	1560-66		1566 P4		+ P	
Sir George Barne, Haberdasher	1574-93	1586-87	1591 P6		+ P	
Francis Barnham, Draper	1568-73		1575 P6	G H	M P	
Humphrey Baskerville, Mercer	1558-64		1563 P4		+ P	
Henry Beecher, Haberdasher	1567-71		1568 P4	G H	+ P	
William Beswick, Draper	1564-65		1567 P4*	G H	+ P	
Sir Thomas Blank, Haberdasher	1573-88	1582-83	1585 P4			
Sir George Bond, Haberdasher	1578-92	1587-88	1592 P4	G		
William Bond, Haberdasher	1567-76		1576 P6	H	P	
Sir Martin Bowes, Goldsmith	1536-66	1545-46	1565 P2	D H	+ C	
Francis Bowyer, Grocer	1576-81		1580 P4			
William Boxe, Grocer	1570-81		NW			
Sir John Branch, Draper	1571-86	1580-81	1588 P4		+ P	
Sir Martin Calthorp, Draper	1579-89	1588-89	1589 P6			
Richard Chamberlain, Ironmonger	1560-66		1563 P4		J	
Sir Richard Champion, Draper	1556-68	1565-66	1568 P6	H	P	
Sir William Chester, Draper	1553-73	1560-61	NW		+ P	
John Cooper, Fishmonger	1558-70		1584 P5	G	+ C	
Sir Thomas Curtes, Pewterer/Fishmonger	1551-59	1557-58	NW			
William Dane, Ironmonger	1568-73		1563 P4*	H J	+ P	
Sir Wolstan Dixie, Skinner	1574-94	1585-86	1592 P4		L M + PP	
Sir Christopher Draper, Ironmonger	1556-81	1566-67	1580 P4	H	P	
Sir Lionel Duckett, Mercer	1564-87	1572-73	1585 P6		+ P	
Richard Foulkes, Clothworker	1556-60		1570 P4			
Anthony Gamage, Ironmonger	1573-79		1571 P4		O + PP	
Sir William Garrard, Haberdasher	1547-71	1555-56	1570 P4		+ C	
Edward Gilbert, Goldsmith	1561-64		NW			
Robert Harding, Salter	1567-68		1568 P6			
Sir William Harper, Merchant Taylor	1553-74	1561-62	1573 P3			
Sir John Harte, Grocer	1580-1604	1589-90	1604 P5	H	O + PP	
Sir James Harvey, Ironmonger	1571-83	1581-82	1583 P4	H	M P	
Sir James Hawes, Clothworker	1565-82	1574-75	NW		+ P	
John Hawes, Clothworker	1556-65		1573 P5	G H	+ P	
Sir William Hewett, Clothworker	1550-67	1559-60	1567 P4		+ C	
Sir Rowland Heyward, Clothworker	1560-93	1570-71	1592 P4		+ P	
Sir Rowland Hill, Mercer	1542-61	1549-50	1560 P3		+ P?	
Edward Jackman, Grocer	1561-69		1568 P4	H	+ P	
William Kimpton, Merchant Taylor	1574-85		NW			
Richard Lambert, Grocer	1564-67		1567 P4			
Sir John Langley, Goldsmith	1566-78	1576-77	1577 P4			
Sir Thomas Leigh, Mercer	1552-71	1558-59	1570 P5	G H	+ P	
Sir Thomas Lodge, Grocer	1553-66	1562-63	1583 P6	G H	+ P	
Sir John Lyon, Grocer	1547-64	1554-55	1564 P4			
Sir Richard Mallory, Mercer	1556-67	1564-65	1566 P4			
Sir Richard Martin, Goldsmith	1578-1602	1589, 94	NW		+ PP	
Sir Roger Martin, Mercer	1556-73	1567-68	1573 P4	H	P	
Henry Milles, Grocer	1569-74		1574 P4	G	+ P	
Sir Ambrose Nicholas, Salter	1566-78	1575-76	1578 P4			
Sir Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	1549-82	1556-57	1580 P4		+ C	
John Oliff, Merchant Taylor	1567-77		1574 P4			
Sir Edward Osborne, Clothworker	1573-92	1583-84	NW			
Sir Thomas Pullyson, Draper	1573-88	1584-85	NW			
Sir Richard Pipe, Leatherseller/Draper	1570-87	1578-79	1587 P3		+ P	
Sir Thomas Ramsey, Grocer	1566-90	1577-78	1585 P4	H	P	
Sir Thomas Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1557-70	1568-69	1569 P5	G I	P	
Sir John Rivers, Grocer	1565-84	1573-74	1584 P5	H	P	
Thomas Starkey, Skinner	1576-88		1592 P4			
Sir John White, Grocer	1554-73	1563-64	1573 P4	G	+ C?	
Sir Thomas White, Merchant Taylor	1544-67	1553-54	1566 P3		+ C	
Ralph Woodcock, Grocer	1580-86		1586 P4			
David Woodroffe, Haberdasher	1548-60		1560 P3		+ C	
Sir Nicholas Woodroffe, Haberdasher	1571-88	1579-80	1596 P4			

Common Councillors 1564-1566

NAME	WILL DATE	W L L REQUESTS			
William Abraham, Vintner	NW				
John Acheley, Merchant Taylor	1586 P4				
William Albany, Merchant Taylor	1588 P4				
Thomas Allen, Skinner	1591 P4				
William Andrew, Vintner	1569 P3				
Thomas Atkinson, Scrivener	1572 P4				
John Ayland, Cutler	NW				
Nicholas Backhouse, Grocer	1576 P4	G			+ P
James Bacon, Fishmonger	1573 P4	G H			P
John Baker, Mercer	1568 P2	G H			P
William Baker, Mercer	NW				
Thomas Bannister, Skinner	1568 P6				+ P
Roger Banstead, Broiderer	NW				
Thomas Badsham, Mercer	NW				
Christopher Barker, Draper	NW				+ P
John Barnard, Mercer	NW				
George Barne, Haberdasher	1591 P6				+ P
Richard Barnes, Mercer	1598 P5	H			+ P
Francis Barnham, Draper	1575 P6	G H	M		P
Edward Bashe, Clothworker	NW				
John Batey	1576 --				
William Bayer, Grocer	1582 P4				
Henry Beecher, Haberdasher	1568 P4	G H			+ P
Francis Beneson, Haberdasher	1563 P3				
John Berkhead, Vintner	NW				
William Beswick, Draper	1567 P4*	G H			+ P
John Blackman, Grocer	NW				
Anthony Bond, Scrivener	NW				
William Bond, Haberdasher	1574 P6	H			P
Martin Bowes jr, Goldsmith	NW				
William Bowley, Fishmonger	1575 P3				
Francis Bowyer, Grocer	1580 P4				
William Boxe, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Bradshaw, Mercer	1591 P4				
George Braithewaite, Draper	NW				
Edward Bright, Ironmonger	1575 P6				
William Bright, Grocer	NW				
Richard Buckland, Haberdasher	1573 P4				+ C
Edmund Burton, Clothworker	1577 P4				
Simon Burton, Waxchandler	1593 P4	G H			P
Anthony Cage, Salter	1581 P4	G H			+ P
John Calthorp, Draper	NW				
Martin Calthorp, Draper	1589 P6				
John Cater, Vintner	1578 P4				
John Chapman, Tallowchandler	1577 P5	G			
William Chelsham, Mercer	1573 P3				+ P
William Cheverall, Draper	1569 P4	G			
Thomas Colsell, Mercer	1593 P4				+ P
William Coxse, Grocer	1574 P5	G			
William Coxse, Haberdasher	1569 P4		M		+ P
William Cutler, Scrivener	NW				
William Dane, Ironmonger	1563 P4	H	J		+ P
Oliver Dawbeney, Tallowchandler	NW				
Richard Denbold, Tallowchandler	NW				
Edward Dicher, Clothworker	1583 P3				
Bartholomew Dodd, Haberdasher	NW				
Robert Dowe, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Geoffrey Duckett, Mercer	NW				
Lionel Duckett, Mercer	1585 P6				+ P
William Duckett, Mercer	1579 --				
Stephen Durrant, Goldsmith	NW				
Thomas Eaton, Carpenter	NW				
Thomas Eaton, Haberdasher	NW				
Christopher Edwards, Haberdasher	1579 --				
Thomas Egerton, Mercer	1590 --				+ P
Richard Elmer, Fishmonger	1582 P4				
Edward Elmer, Grocer	1593 P5	G			+ P
Henry Elsing, Baker	1577 P4				+ P
John Fitzwilliam, Mercer	1571 P4				
George Forman, Skinner	NW				+ C
Richard Foulkes, Clothworker	1570 P4				
William Frankland, Clothworker	1574 P4				

NAME	W LL DATE	W LL REQUESTS	
Robert Friar, Goldsmith	1575 P5		
Anthony Gamage, Ironmonger	1571 P4		+ PP
Thomas Gardener, Goldsmith	1576 P4		
John God, Merchant Taylor	1578 P5	H	P
James Gollingford, Skinner	NW		
Richard Goldstone, Salter	1564 P3		
Gerrard Gore, Merchant Taylor (1574)	1602 P5		+ P
Thomas Gore, Grocer	1597 P4		
Richard Grafton, Grocer	NW		+ P
John Greene, Grocer	1595 P3		
Lawrence Greene, Cutler	1580 P6		P
John Gresham, Mercer	NW		
Philip Gunter, Skinner (1569)	1583 P4	G H	P
William Hagar, Salter	1574 P4		
Edward Hall, Haberdasher	1583 P4		
Thomas Hall, Salter	1582 P3	H	P
John Harby, Goldsmith	NW		
John Harding, Salter (1576)	1576 P4	G H	+ P
Robert Harding, Salter	1568 P6		
John Hare, Mercer	1564 P4		+ P
Robert Harris, Draper	NW		
John Harrison, Goldsmith (1574)	NW		
Thomas Haselwood, Brewer	1594 P4		
James Hawes, Clothworker	NW		+ P
William Hayes, Salter	NW		
Stephen Heathe, Cooper	NW		
Thomas Heathe, Baker	NW		
Thomas Heton, Mercer	NW		+ PP
William Heton, Merchant Taylor	1603 P4		
Thomas Hewett, Clothworker	NW		
Edward Heyward, Draper	NW		
Anthony Hickman, Mercer	NW		+ P
Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4	G	+ P
Ralph Hitchcock, Grocer	1573 P4		
George Horne, Haberdasher	NW		
Richard Hornell, Grocer	NW		
Charles Hoskins, Merchant Taylor	1597 P6		+ P
John Howland, Salter	1568 P4		
Robert Hulson, Merchant Taylor	1580 P5		
Robert Ibgrave, Broiderer	NW		
John Jackson, Founder	1579 *	G K	PP
Thomas Jennings, Girdler	NW		
Thomas Jennings, Fishmonger	1579 P4		
Thomas Keightley, Leatherseller	1585 P4		
Edmund Key, Salter	1567 P4		
William Kimpton, Merchant Taylor	NW		
John King, Tallowchandler	1603 P4		
Robert King, Haberdasher	1570 P6	G H	P
John Lacey, Clothworker	NW		+ P
John Lambert, Grocer	1580 P4	H	P
Richard Lambert, Grocer	1567 P4		
John Langley, Goldsmith	1577 P4		
Henry Leake, Clothworker	1563 NW		
John Leonard, Mercer	1587 P6		
William Leonard, Mercer	1572 --		
Francis Levenson, Mercer	NW		
Richard Lister, Clothworker	1593 P4		
Robert Livers, Fishmonger	NW		
John Long, Clothworker	1570 P3 C		C
Morris Long, Clothworker	NW		
Bartholomew Lowe, Merchant Taylor	NW		
Nicholas Lowe, Merchant Taylor	NW		
Thomas Lowe, Vintner	1574 P4		+ C
Nicholas Luddington, Grocer	1589 P4*		P
John Lute, Clothworker	1585 P6	H	P
John Mabbe sr, Goldsmith	1578 P4*	H	P
John Malby	NW		
Christopher Marler, Merchant Taylor	1576 P4	G	
James Marston, Vintner	1570 P4		
Henry May, Draper	NW		
Thomas Mereston	NW		
John Merrick, Merchant Taylor	NW		
William Merrick, Draper	1581 P4		
Thomas Metcalf, Goldsmith	1576 P5	G H	P

NAME	W ^L DATE	W LL BEQUESTS				
Thomas More, Mercer	NW					
Richard Morris, Ironmonger	1592 P4					
Thomas Muschampe, Goldsmith	1578 P5					
John Mynors, Draper	1567 P6	H		M		PP
John Nashe, Draper	1568 P3					
Anthony Neale, Goldsmith	NW					
Gregory Newman, Grocer	1592 P5					
Ambrose Nicholas, Salter	1578 P4					
Robert Offley, Haberdasher	1596 P4			K	O	P
Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	NW					
John Oliff, Merchant Taylor	1574 P4					
William Onslowe, Scrivener	1609 P3					
William Ormshaw, Grocer	1590 P4*					+ P
Edward Osborne, Goldsmith	NW					
William Page, Ironmonger	1586 P3					
William Parker, Draper	1576 P4	H		L		PP
Robert Peacock, Haberdasher	NW					
William Peterson, Haberdasher	1578 P3					
William Phillips, Clothworker	NW					
John Pierce, Fishmonger	1593 P3	G				
Thomas Pierson, Scrivener	1568 P4	G				
William Pierson, Scrivener	1565 P4					+ P
Thomas Pigott, Grocer	NW					
Richard Pipe, Leatherseller	1587 P3					+ P
Francis Pope, Merchant Taylor	NW					
Thomas Priest, Grocer	NW					
John Quarles, Draper	1577 P4	H		K	M	P
Thomas Ramsey, Grocer	1585 P4	H				P
John Redman, Bowyer	1572 P4					
Custell Reynard	NW					
Richard Reynolds, Draper	1579 P4	H				+ P
William Reynolds, Bowyer	1567 P4					
Henry Richards, Draper	1583 P4					
John Rivers, Grocer	1584 P5	H				P
Francis Robinson, Grocer	NW					
Robert Rose, Merchant Taylor	1576 P3					
William Rowe, Ironmonger	1593 P4					
George Salter	NW					
Andrew Sares, Salter	NW					
Blaise Saunders, Grocer	1576 P4					
John Scott, Grocer	NW					
Adrian Sewell, Fishmonger	NW					
Robert Sherlock, Woodmonger	1570 P2					
Lawrence Sheriff, Grocer	1567 P4	G	J			
William Sillard, Merchant Taylor	NW					
David Smith, Broiderer	1587 P6	H		M		P
Robert Sowle, Salter	1593 P6					
John Sparke, Merchant Taylor	1574 P4					
Richard Springham, Mercer	NW					+ P
John Stevenson, Girdler	NW					
Richard Story, Fishmonger	1577 P4	G				
Henry Sutton, Goldsmith	1592 P6					
Richard Thornhill, Grocer	NW					
George Thornton, Ironmonger	NW					
Thomas Turnbull, Fishmonger	1569 P4					
William Towerson, Skinner	1584 P5					
John Travers, Merchant Taylor	1570 P5					+ P
William Tucker, Grocer	NW					
Henry Viner, Mercer	1571 P3					
Geoffrey Walkeden, Skinner	1603 P4					
Thomas Wanton, Grocer	1569 P4					
Thomas Ware, Fishmonger	1591 P4	H				+ P
Humphrey Wells, Fishmonger	NW					
John Wetherall, Goldsmith	1578 P4	G				
Nicholas Wheeler, Draper	1585 P4	G				P
John Whitethorn, Clothworker	1568 P4					
Robert Wigge, Goldsmith	1570 P4					+ P
John Wilkinson, Merchant Taylor	1571 P3					
William Wilson, Dyer	1582 P4					
Lawrence Wythers, Salter	NW					
Thomas Witton, Scrivener	NW					
Robert Woolman, Mercer	1571 P4					
Nicholas Woodroffe, Haberdasher	1596 P4					
Richard Young, Grocer	NW					

NAME
Robert Young, Fishmonger

W L
DATE
1574 P5

WILL BEQUES

Common Councillors 1574-1576

William Abraham, Vintner	NW			
Richard Adams, Saddler	NW			
Thomas Aldersey, Haberdasher	1596 P4		K	+ P
John Allot, Fishmonger	1589 P4	G H		P
John Alsop, Haberdasher	1583 P4	H		P
Edward Atkinson, Merchant Taylor	NW			
Thomas Audley, Skinner	1590 P6			N P
Nicholas Backhouse, Grocer	1576 P4	G		+ P
Peter Baker, Scrivener	1591 P4			
William Banks, Skinner	NW			
William Barnard, Draper	1583 P4	G		+ P
Henry Barnes, Salter	NW			
Richard Barnes, Mercer	1598 P5	H		+ P
Thomas Bartlett, Painter-Stainer	1593 --			
Thomas Bayard, Clothworker	1592 P4			
Anselm Beckett, Haberdasher	1586 P4			
John Best, Haberdasher	1584 P5	G		
Michael Blagge, Tallowchandler	NW			
Thomas Blunt, Mercer	1579 P4			
John Bodley, Draper	1591 P5			+ PP
William Bodnam, Grocer	1580 P3			
George Bond, Haberdasher	1592 P4	G		
Francis Bowyer, Grocer	1580 P4			
Thomas Bracey, Haberdasher	NW			
Edmund Bragg, Haberdasher	NW			
Thomas Bramley, Haberdasher	1602 P3			
Robert Brett, Merchant Taylor	1586 P4	G		
Edward Bright, Scrivener	1575 P6			
Bartholomew Brooksby, Scrivener	1582 --			
John Brown, Clothworker	1574 P4			
Thomas Brown, Scrivener	1581 P4			
Thomas Brown, Merchant Taylor	1579 P4	H		+ P
Cuthbert Buckle, Vintner	1594 P6	H		+ P
Simon Burton, Waxchandler	1593 P4	G H		P
Anthony Cage, Salter	1581 P4	G H		+ P
Anthony Calthorp, Mercer	1593 P4	G H	L	P
Martin Calthorp, Draper	1589 P6			
Henry Campion, Mercer	1588 P5		M	P
Rafe Carke, Scrivener	NW			
Brian Caverley, Draper	1587 P4	G H		+ P
John Clerk, Clothworker	1586 P4			
William Cockayne, Skinner	1599 P5			
Matthew Colclough, Draper	NW			
John Colmer, Grocer	1600 P3			
Richard Colmer, Mercer	NW			
William Cox, Grocer	1574 P5	G		
Thomas Cranfield, Mercer	1594 P4			
William Crowche, Mercer	1606 P4	H		P
George Crowther, Vintner	NW			
Arthur Dawbeney, Merchant Taylor	NW			
William Denham, Goldsmith	1583 P3			
Edward Dicher, Clothworker	1583 P3			
Robert Dickinson, Draper	1591 P4			
Wolstan Dixie, Skinner	1592 P4		L M	+ PP
William Dixon, Goldsmith	NW			
John Dobbes, Skinner	1563 P4			
Bartholomew Dodd, Haberdasher	NW			
Francis Dodd, Haberdasher	NW			
Philip Dodd, Haberdasher	1577 P3			
Robert Dove, Merchant Taylor	NW			
Thomas Draper, Draper	NW			
Stephen Durrant, Goldsmith	NW			
Thomas Eaton, Carpenter	NW			
John Edmonds, Fishmonger	1599 P4			
Thomas Egerton, Mercer	1590 --			+ P
William Elkin, Mercer	1592 P4	H	O	+ PP
Edward Elmer, Grocer	1593 P5	G		+ P
Matthew Field, Mercer	NW			
Walter Fish, Merchant Taylor	1578 P4*			+ PP

NAME	WILL DATE	WILL BEQUEST			
George Forman, Skinner	NW				+ C
Thomas Gardener, Goldsmith	1576 P4				
Anthony Garrard, Mercer	NW				
William Gibbons, Salter	NW				
Richard Grainger, Haberdasher	1597 P4				+ P
John Greene, Grocer	1595 P3				
Lawrence Greene, Cutler	1580 P6				P
John Gresham, Mercer	NW				
Philip Gunter, Skinner (1569)	1583 P4	G H			P
John Haddon, Dyer	NW				
Anthony Hall, Skinner	NW				
Edward Hall, Haberdasher	1583 P4				
Thomas Hall, Salter	1582 P3	H			P
Thomas Hall, Clothworker	NW				
John Harding, Salter (1576)	1576 P4	G H			+ P
John Harrison, Goldsmith (1574)	NW				
Thomas Harrison, Draper	1576 P6				+ P?
John Harte, Grocer	1604 P5	H		O	+ PP
Thomas Haselwood, Brewer	1594 P4				
George Hawes, Salter	1598 P3				
John Haydon, Mercer	1580 P5	G	L		P
Francis Heton, Goldsmith	NW				
Thomas Heton, Mercer	NW				+ PP
William Hewett, Clothworker	1599 P5	G H	M		+ P
James Hewishe, Grocer	1590 P4		K M N		+ PP
Anthony Higgins, Skinner	NW				
Edmund Hill, Woodmonger	1588 P4				
John Hill, Cutler	NW				
Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4	G			+ P
John Hilliard, Goldsmith	NW				
William Hobson, Haberdasher	1582 P4	G			
William Hoddesdon, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Edmond Hogan, Mercer	1606 P3	G			
Charles Hoskins, Merchant Taylor	1597 P6				+ P
Robert Howes, Clothworker	1586 P4				
Robert Hulson, Mercer	1580 P5				
Godfrey Isbard, Haberdasher	1585 P4				
Henry Isham, Grocer	NW				
Clement Kelke, Haberdasher	1593 *				+ P
Robert Keyes, Merchant Taylor	NW				
William Kimpton, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Nicholas King, Tallowchandler	1583 P3				
John Kirby, Grocer	1578 P3				
William Lamb, Clothworker	1580 P4	G	M		P
Nicholas Luddington, Grocer	1589 P4*				+ P
John Lute, Clothworker	1585 P6	H			P
John Mabbes, Goldsmith	1578 P4*	H			P
John Mabbes jr, Goldsmith	1578 --				+ P
Arthur Malby, Fishmonger	NW				
Richard Marler, Goldsmith	NW				
Richard Martin, Goldsmith	NW				+ PP
William Megges, Draper	1598 P4*	G I	N		PP
Thomas Mereston	NW				
William Merrick, Draper	1581 P4				
Edmond Moore, Draper	NW				
Hugh Morgan, Grocer	1608 P4	G H			+ P
Richard Morris, Ironmonger	1592 P4				
Thomas Muschampe, Goldsmith	1578 P5				
Richard Nicholson, Merchant Taylor	1585 P4				
Hugh Offley, Leatherseller	1594 P4	G	L		P
Robert Offley, Haberdasher	1596 P4		K	O	P
William Onslowe, Scrivener	1609 P3				
William Ormshaw, Grocer	1590 P4*				+ P
Andrew Palmer, Goldsmith	1599 P4				+ P
Lawrence Palmer, Clothworker	NW				
Nicholas Parkinson, Clothworker	NW				
Affabell Partridge, Goldsmith	NW				
Richard Peacock, Leatherseller	NW				
Robert Peacock, Haberdasher	NW				
William Philips, Clothworker	NW				
John Ponte, Merchant Taylor	1584 P6				
David Powell, Haberdasher	NW				
Robert Powell, Haberdasher	1586 P4				
Ferdinand Poyntz, Grocer	NW				

NAME	W LL DATE	WILL BEQUEST			
Henry Prannell, Vintner	1589 P4				
Ralph Pratt, Leatherseller	1607 P4	H			P
Anthony Prior, Draper	1577 P4	G			
Arthur Rainscroft, Innholder	1583 P6				P
Anthony Ratcliffe, Merchant Taylor	NW				
William Reynolds, Draper	NW				
Morgan Richards, Skinner	1586 P4	G			
Thomas Riggs, Haberdasher	NW				
John Riley, Haberdasher	1577 P4	G			
John Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1580 P6		L		+ P
William Rowe, Ironmonger	1593 P4				
Richard Saltonstall, Skinner	1597 P4	G			
Andrew Sares, Salter	NW				
Thomas Sares, Haberdasher	1587 P4	G			+ P
Blaise Saunders, Grocer	1576 P4				
John Scott, Salter	1578 P5	G			
John Scott, Draper	NW				
Stephen Scudamore, Vintner	1598 P4	H			P
Thomas Seymour, Skinner	NW				
Thomas Shepham, Mercer	NW				
William Sherrington, Haberdasher	1593 P3				
Stephen Slaney, Skinner	1598 P4	H			P
Ambrose Smith, Mercer	1584 P3				
David Smith, Broiderer	1587 P6	H	M		P
Leonard Smith, Girdler	NW				
Richard Smith, Fishmonger	1591 P4				
William Smith, Grocer	1586 P4				
John Southall, Clothworker	1590 P4				
Robert Sowle, Salter	1593 P6				
John Spencer, Clothworker	NW				
Nicholas Spencer, Merchant Taylor	1597 P6				+ P?
Thomas Spencer, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Richard Staper, Clothworker	1601 P5				+ P
Thomas Starkey, Skinner	1592 P4				
George Stockmead, Skinner	NW				
William Stone, Haberdasher	NW				
Henry Studley, Girdler	1586 --				
Henry Sutton, Goldsmith	1592 P6				
John Taylor, Haberdasher	1600 P4				
John Tatten, Draper	NW				
William Thorowgood, Draper	1602 *	H	M		+ PP
William Towerson, Skinner	1584 P5				
Thomas Trott, Merchant Taylor	1577 P4				
Geoffrey Walkeden, Skinner	1603 P4				
Thomas Ware, Fishmonger	1591 P4	H			+ P
John Weaver, Mercer	NW				
William Webbe, Salter	1599 P4				+ P
Thomas Wente, Scrivener	1577 P5				
John Wetherall, Goldsmith	1578 P4	G			
Nicholas Wheeler, Draper	1585 P4	G			P
Richard Wheeler, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Wheeler, Currier	1590 P4	G			
William Widginton, Painter-Stainer	1582 P6	G H			P
William Widnell, Merchant Taylor	1601 P5				
Thomas Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1608 P3				
Robert Winche, Grocer	1590 P4	G			
Rowland Winter, Cordwainer	NW				
Robert Wythens, Vintner	1593 P4				
Ralph Woodcock, Grocer	1586 P4				
Richard Young, Grocer	NW				
William Young, Grocer	NW				

CHAPTER FIVE: THE RULERS OF LONDON 1581-1603

In September 1581 Lord Mayor Sir James Harvey complained to Bishop Aylmer of London that the latter's chaplain, Lawrence Deios, had publicly defamed ~~the rulers~~ to their faces from Paul's Cross, claiming 'that if the appointing of preachers were committed to them, they would appoint such as would defend usury, the family of love, and puritanism'. While there seems to have been little substance to the allegations, the incident occurred while the rulers were attempting to evade government orders to provide civic-maintained preachers in various parts of the City, and were highly sensitive to questions of religious orthodoxy.¹ As we have seen, puritanism had, in fact, made relatively little headway among the aldermen by the beginning of the 1580s, but thenceforth the number of prominent aldermen professing puritan religious inclinations did slowly rise. By the end of the reign a number of aldermen were in office who would provide important support for the puritan movement in the reign of James I.

Perhaps the most prominent of the puritan rulers of the latter half of Elizabeth's reign was Sir John Harte. Elected to the court of aldermen in 1580, in the same year he moved to the parish of St. Swithin's London Stone.² In 1582 he received the dedication of an edition of the young puritan divine Edward Dering's *Short Catechism*,³ by which time he had already begun the process of turning his parish into a godly stronghold

¹ *Remembrancia* I, 250, 255. Sir James Harvey's relationship with Aylmer seems to have been a tense one. Aylmer wrote to Harvey in March 1581 complaining of Harvey's unbecoming behaviour towards himself and his clergy, and threatening that if the Lord Mayor did not treat them with due reverence, he would be duty bound to admonish them from the Paul's Cross pulpit, 'where the Lord Mayor must sit, not as a judge to control, but as a scholar to learn': *Remembrancia* I, 302.

² *House of Commons 1558-1603*, s. n. Harte, Sir John.

³ E. Dering, *A Short Catechisme for Householdiers, with Prayers to the Same Adjoining: Hereunto are added the Prooues of Scripture*, ed. J. Stockwood (1582), RSTC, 6712.

within the City. Very few parishes had the right of presentation to their own living. Perhaps the best known, St. Stephen Coleman Street, did not own the advowson until 1590, until which point its incumbents had been essentially conformist.⁴ Harte himself possessed that right for St. Swithin's much earlier: in 1582 he presented the presbyterian Arthur Bright to the living, and in 1587 William Jackson, who would be deprived for nonconformity in 1605.⁵ Harte's will, drawn up in January 1604, strongly suggests that his choice of clergy was carefully considered. It begins with a preamble reflecting a self-consciously scriptural influence upon his thinking, and his concern to further the gospel by practical means;

I, Sir John Harte, knight, citizen and alderman of London...well weighing the great number of years already gone over my head with the sentence of God pronounced upon the sons of Adam from the beginning of the world, that they are dust, and unto dust they shall return againe, and that the apostles hath said it is decreed that all shall die; and considering also that the hour and time of death is uncertain...thought it good to follow that godly counsel given by the holy prophet of God to good king Ezekias, "Set thy house in order for thou shalt die, and not live", to dispose and set an order for the temporal blessings of this life whereof the lord hath made me steward, now I would have the same disposed and ordered after my death, beseeching God so to assist me with his holy spirit that I may do it to his glory, the benefit of his poor church upon earth and to the good of all those that shall anyways be partaker of the same, amen. First I bequeath my soul to almighty God, my heavenly father, and to Jesus Christ his son, my redeemer and advocate, and to God the holy ghost, who sanctifieth me and all the elect people of God.⁶

Harte left a gown to parson William Jackson, and in 1603 paid for the funeral knell and burial of a daughter of the deceased Anthony Cage.⁷ £30

⁴ D. A. Williams, 'London Puritanism: the Parish of St. Stephen Coleman Street', *The Church Quarterly Review* 160 (1959), pp. 464-482.

⁵ R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, 2 vols. (London, 1708) I, p. 543.

⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/103, fo. 1^r.

⁷ GL, MS. 559/1, fo. 3^v.

were left to Sidney Sussex College 'towardses the furnishinge their new library with books such as the scholars stand in need of'. A further £600 was left in the hands of his executors, in order to provide for an annual stipend of £4 to a lecturer in Greek in the college, £10 each to two fellows of the college for their exhibition and maintenance, and £4 each to four poor scholars of the college, to be admitted from the free school Harte had already established at Coxwold, Yorkshire, his native town.⁸ In his own parish, Harte provided for a two hour sermon every Good Friday 'betwixt the hours of eight and ten of the clock in the forenoon...upon some text of holy scripture, entreating of the death and passion of saviour Jesus Christ', while he left an annuity of twenty shillings a year for three sermons every year in Coxwold.⁹

Bartholomew Barnes, who had left £10 apiece to Arthur Bright, Thomas Cartwright, Stephen Egerton and Richard Gardiner in 1603, belonged to the same parish. Forbidding the presence of heralds at his funeral, Barnes left his will in the custody of Nicholas Fuller of Gray's Inn, the puritan lawyer who had defended the presbyterians during Whitgift's campaign against them at the beginning of the 1590s.¹⁰ In 1591 he and Henry Rowe were joint dedicatees of a rigorously predestinarian sermon by Gervase Babington. Future Bishop of Worcester, Babington would be regarded in 1604 as potentially favourable to the puritans, although his Paul's Cross sermon had been printed in 1591 under the imprimatur of John Whitgift.¹¹ Rowe

⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 3^r-^v.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fos. 5^v-6^v.

¹⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/108, fos. 168^v-172^v; Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 403-431.

¹¹ G. Babington, *A Sermon [on John VI, 37] preached at Paul's Cross*, ed. R. Wilkinson (1591), RSTC, 1092; N. Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists, the Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 17-18, 32, 251-3; DNB, s. n. Babington, Gervase.

himself provided for sixty sermons in his own parish of St. Martin Outwich in 1612.¹²

James Hewishe, Grocer, made Sir John Harte, 'my good frende' an executor to his will of July 1590, alongside Alderman Sir George Bond and the lawyer Nicholas Fuller. Hewishe's puritan sympathies may be discerned from his stipulation that his properties should pass to his male heirs 'which then shalbe of suche profession and religion as the Church of England doth now professe', but 'if he be a papist in profession or religion' he should be excluded as if dead 'so that the next heire male, *beinge a professor of the Gospell accordinge to the profession of Englande or Geneva* maye receive' [my italics]. He also left £20 to 'suche godly and zealous preachers as are or shalbe silenced and restrained from the publique exercise of theire ministerie'.¹³

However, while a number of the puritan members of the City elite may be located in St. Swithin's, the most influential puritan aldermen often seem to have dwelt in parishes not particularly noted for radical tendencies. Sir Wolstan Dixie, Skinner, was a parishioner of St. Michael Bassishaw. In his will of 1592 he endowed two fellowships and scholarships at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and set aside £500 to found a school in his native town of Market Bosworth, the ordinances for which were to be made by the bishop of the diocese and the master of Emmanuel College. He left £50 to the poor of the French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish congregations 'and other such as shall be fugitives here for cause of religion...with the advice of the ministers and elders of the said churches', and provided for a perpetual £10 annuity to be administered by the Skinners' Company, for

¹² PRO, PROB. 11/120, fos. 287^r, 288^v.

¹³ PRO, PROB. 11 76, fos. 182^v-187^v.

a twice weekly divinity lecture in his parish.¹⁴ Dixie's contemporary Alderman William Elkin, Mercer, lived in the parish of St. Michael-le-Querne, and his will, also made in 1592, contains similar bequests. Emmanuel College received £100 to endow an yearly exhibition of £5 for a poor scholar, while Elkin gave £15 6s. 8d. to be distributed between forty six preachers, to be chosen by the wardens of the Mercers' Company; 'they shall preach one sermon in the Mercers' Chapel, out of the holy scriptures on a Sunday in the afternoon, and so every Sunday in the year except the six Sundays in Lent, this money to be given them as a legacy and not for preaching. At which time I pray God to move the wardens and company of the Mercers with all the young men and preachers, their hearts to be willing, to come and learn to please God and live in his fear, and then doubtless God will prosper the company much better than presently they do'. In this context, Elkin's desire that 'there be no ringing of bells at my burial, but only one peal to warn the people to church, and one bell tolled to the sermon to be made at my burial' clearly does derive from puritan scruples regarding excessive ceremony.¹⁵

Puritan sympathies were present among the commoners early in Elizabeth's reign, but had taken rather longer to reach the court of aldermen. Similarly, after 1580, connections with the leaders of the presbyterian movement in London seem stronger, earlier among the commoners. Richard Culverwell, Mercer, who had organised the collection and distribution of funds for the stranger churches in his lifetime, made his will in December 1584 leaving forty shillings to Robert Crowley, and to many of the leading lights of the presbyterian movement nationally and in the City: William Chark, Walter Travers, John Field, Thomas Crook, Nicholas

¹⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/83, fos. 1^r-5^v.

¹⁵ PRO, PROB. 11 82, fos. 241^r-243^r.

Crane, Thomas Edmunds, Edward Saintloe (or Sinclair) and George Cheston. A bequest of £350 was left in the hands of William Whittaker, the 'conformable puritan', and his close associate Lawrence Chaderton, moderate presbyterian head of Emmanuel College,¹⁶ Richard Greenham, the 'model puritan of Dry Drayton',¹⁷ William Chark and Walter Travers 'the whiche I will haue them to keepe to disburse thereof, when, where and to whome it shalbe thoughte good to them all, or to the greater parte of them, whome notwithstanding I charge in the lorde, at theire owne perill as they will answere to God, to preferre hereby the sincerest and poorest of what condition of lyfe or vocation soever they be, whether preachers or other'. Culverwell made his will in the same month as the Lambeth Conference between Whitgift and the leading presbyterian nonconformists, following a spate of deprivations of puritan ministers arising from the Archbishop's strenuous efforts to enforce ceremonial conformity. In this light, these bequests align Culverwell with the fore most radicals within the English Church.¹⁸ His nephew Ezekiel was a prominent puritan preacher in his own right, while the former Marian exile John Bodley was made an overseer to his will.¹⁹

Thomas Wade, Ironmonger, of St. Matthew Friday Street, left 40s. to Percivall Wiborne in 1600, left alms to the poor 'that are poor indeede and well giuen in religion, as neare as they maie be founde out', and requested that the children of Christ's Hospital were not to sing at his burial 'for I accompt it but a vaine glorie'. Mourning gowns were to be given to none

¹⁶ P. Lake, *Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 1-15 & *passim*.

¹⁷ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 128, 349.

¹⁸ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 243-272.

¹⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/69, fos. 70^v-71^v.

but his wife, children and executors.²⁰ John Woodward, Ironmonger, of the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch, and a friend of Sir John Harte, left £10 each to Percival Wiburn, Stephen Egerton and William Chark, in October 1601. In this context his preamble clearly indicates a Reformed conception of divine grace: 'ffirst of all and above all thinges I give God moste humble thancks for his rich mercy towardes me in Christe Jesus, made knowne to me by the blessed mynistry of the Gospell, by the preaching whereof, and the gracious worke of Gode's holy spirite, I haue been taught, and accordinglie beleive, and in a firme faithe doe assure myself after this lief, of the inheritaunce of lief everlasting by th'onely righteousnes and merites of Jesus Christe, without anie respect or merrites that are, or may be imagined, to be in myself, in whiche faithe I reioyce to liue and am ready to be dissolved and to be with Christe, when it shall please my heavenly ffather to call me'.²¹ Woodward was a son-in-law of the puritan Anthony Gamage, and had been appointed overseer to Gamage's will in 1571.²²

Others, however, like James Hewishe, were more openly subversive of ecclesiastical policy. In 1598 Thomas Walker, Vintner, left twenty shillings each to twenty 'poore godlie ministers',²³ the context for which bequest is enlarged upon in the will of Richard Walters, Girdler, of 4 March 1588. Walters expressed reservations about the funeral sermon as a superstitious custom, and was a friend of John Field whom he appointed overseer. He left £50 'to and amongst such godlie, faithfull and honest

²⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/98, fos. 89^v-92^v.

²¹ PRO, PROB. 11/99, fos. 283^v-285^r.

²² *Vis. Lon. 1568*, p. 99; PRO, PROB. 11/61, fo. 256^v.

²³ PRO, PROB. 11/95, fo. 87^r. Walker also restricted his alms to 'twentie poore godlie men'.

preachers as are put from their livings for matters of ceremonies', while he bequeathed £5 to William Chark and to George Cheston.²⁴ Walters' brother in law, Roger Owfield, himself bequeathed 100 marks 'to and amongst poore ministers of Gode's worde which wante livinge or maintenaunce', in November 1608, besides £13 6s. 8d. to Walter Travers, £100 to fund scholarships in Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges, and £50 to fund a preaching minister in Owfield's native town of Ashbourne in Derbyshire.²⁵ Randall Manning, a parishioner of St. Swithins, left £20 to deprived ministers in 1612, and bequeathed funds to poor scholars at Emmanuel College.²⁶

This kind of radicalism did not reach the court of aldermen until the last years of Elizabeth and the Jacobean period, when aldermen who had served as commoners in the 1580s and 1590s began to reach the bench. Dr. Tyacke has shown how the laity channelled funds into puritan initiatives following the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, when hopes of renewed reformation under James I were quashed.²⁷ In the atmosphere of the authorities' campaign to enforce subscription upon the clergy in 1606-1607, one particular incident illustrates the activities of puritans in the City's social élite at this time. Sara Venables, widow of Common Councilman Richard Venables, made her will in July 1606.²⁸ She left funds to provide for poor ministers already deprived, or threatened with deprivation, amounting to much of her estate. The extraordinary meeting

²⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/72, fo. 156^v-157^r.

²⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/112, fos. 403^v-404^r. Owfield further left 100 marks in alms 'amongst poore howsholders in London that do feare God'.

²⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/119, fos. 36^r-38^r.

²⁷ N. Tyacke, *The Fortunes of English Puritanism, 1603-1640* (London, 1990).

²⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/112, fos. 7^v-9^r.

to read the will in the Guildhall was attended by four aldermen, Sir William Romney, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Thomas Cambell, and Sir Thomas Bennet, besides others including William Chark. Middleton, indeed, was *made one of the overseers of the will*. The connections between these prominent rulers and the puritan ministry are clear, not only through this attempt which was challenged with some success by the government, but through the connections of a group of godly City rulers and their wives with William Chark and his son Ezekial.²⁹

Sir William Romney was elected alderman in 1602, and his will of March 1611 illustrates further the practical forms of piety characteristic of the godly circle in which he and his wife Rebecca moved. The preamble is unusually long and individualistic;

First, because my soul and spirit is the chief part of me, and came from above, I commend the same to the Father of spirits, God almighty, distinguished in three persons, to wit, father, son and holy ghost, but one in deity or godhead, most humbly beseeching the same God of his infinite mercy to pardon and forgive the infinite number of my sins, hoping and believing most assuredly in my heart that, albeit my grievous offences have deserved the intolerable curse of God and everlasting torments of hell, yett through, and only through, the obedience, bitter passion and death of my sweete saviour Jesus Christ, I shall not only be fully and freely acquitted and discharged from all, both from the punishments and faults, but also I shall be reputed righteous through his righteousness laid and clothed upon me, and so finally I shall inherit the unspeakable joys of the kingdom of heaven, for he, the lord of glory which knew no sin, was pleased to be made the price and ransom for my sins, and like as my sins were laid upon him, to his death, so his righteousness shall be imputed to me for my everlasting life and salvation. Secondly, for that my body is from beneath, of the base substance of the earth whence it came and whither it must return, I therefore commit and commend it to the grave, desiring that it may be accompanied with my kindred and friends, and Christianly buried with the smallest pomp of heraldry that conveniency will tolerate...where my said body will remain a corruptible lump untill the last day. At which time I believe it shall be raised up again, a spiritual body, joined again to my soul, clothed with incorruption and immortality and made like to the

²⁹ N. Tyacke, *Fortunes of English Puritanism*, pp. 5-10.

glorious body of my saviour Christ; and my merciful redeemer shall then be my most gracious judge, and from thenceforth I shall be for ever with the lord in the kingdom of heaven, accompanied with his blessed angells and saints, in such joys as the eye of man hath not seen, the eare of man hath not heard, the tongue of man cannot express, nor his heart able fully to conceive; which inexpressible mercies and everlasting blessedness I most humbly beseech the lord to grant me for his great name's sake, and for Jesus Christ's sake, my only saviour, amen.³⁰

Among the kindred and friends whom Romney desired to accompany the corpse to burial was the preacher William Chark, Romney's brother-in-law. Ezekiel Chark would dedicate works by Paul Baynes to Lady Rebecca Romney, Mary Weld and the other members of the early seventeenth century godly circle among London social elite.³¹ Romney left £20 to forty 'poor old widows in and about the City of London, among which I wish respect to be had of such as were the wives of godly preachers'. He left a further £5 to the poor of the French church, £5 to Andrew Castleton, 'the godly preacher of my parish', and an annual £6 to fund a weekly 'godly lecture or sermon' in his native town of Tedbury in Gloucestershire.³²

While Rebecca 'my very loving, most dutiful and true religious wife' was made executor, Romney appointed as overseers his colleague at the reading of Sara Venables' will, Sir Thomas Middleton, the chamberlain of London, Cornelius Fish, the preacher of Laffenham, Robert Johnson, and in a codicil added a month later, the puritan lawyer, Nicholas Fuller.³³ Robert Johnson, Archdeacon of Leicester, had refused to subscribe in 1571, and although he submitted relatively quickly was regarded with suspicion by Archbishop Parker. Johnson founded divinity scholarships at Clare, St.

³⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/117, 335^{r-v}.

³¹ Ibid., fo. 338^v; Tyacke, *Fortunes of English Puritanism*, pp. 2-8.

³² Ibid., fos. 335^v-336^r.

³³ Ibid., fo. 338^{r-v}.

John's, Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges, Cambridge; his son Abraham married the daughter of Lawrence Chaderton.³⁴

Sara Venables' husband Richard had drawn up his will in July 1598. The puritan minister Edward Buckland, who was to act as an executor to Sara's will witnessed Richard's testament, while his brother-in-law, Nicholas Farrar, appointed overseer, by 1606 was still a 'good friend' and beneficiary of Sara.³⁵ Farrar himself, making his will in March 1620, insisted that 'after I am departed oute of this mortall lief...nothings can be wroughte by man, be he never soe holy, but only Jesus Christe is able perfectlye to save all those that come vnto him'. Furthermore, 'whereas there is latelye made a begynnynge to the erectinge and foundinge of a colledge in Virginea for the conversion of infidells children to Christian religion, my will is that when the sayd colledge shalbe erected, and to the number of ten of the infidells children therein placed to be educated in Christian religion and civilitie that then my executor shall give and paye the somme of three hundred poundes vnto the Company of Virginea...so as maye moste tend to the furtherance of that that godlye worke of the colledge and thereby to the advauncement of God's glorye'. To Sir Thomas Middleton, his 'deare and welbeloved ffrend and sometyme my partener' he left a gold ring.³⁶ Middleton's own will, dated 20 November 1630, in fact contains no religious bequests, although he remembered the widow of Nicholas Farrar and helped finance the publication of the first Welsh language Bible.³⁷ Sir Thomas Cambell, however, in September 1612 left

³⁴ Venn, II, p. 480; *DNB*, s. n. Johnson, Robert.

³⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/92, fos. 87^v-90^r.

³⁶ PRO, PROB. 11 135, fos. 255^v-257^r.

³⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/160, fos. 197^r-199^r; A. H. Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton the Merchant of Tower Street', in S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield & C. H. Williams (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society, Essays Presented to Sir John Neale* (London, 1961), pp. 249-281.

£300 to the Ironmongers' Company to pay 6s. 8d. every Sunday to the preacher at Paul's Cross, so long as he was unbeneficed or possessed a living worth less than £100 a year.³⁸

While the striking testamentary material left by puritans may divert attention from their relatively small numbers, their 'practical godliness' derived from a wider pattern of lay religious behaviour which embraced most of their contemporaries in the City élite. Peter Simmonds, Mercer, for example, wrote a lengthy, protestant preamble to his will of April 1586, and desired burial in the newly built churchyard at Bedlam, outside Bishopsgate, 'righte before the pullpitt'. Edward Dering had been interred there, and the burial ground was known to be favoured by puritans since it was easier to perform funerals there in accordance with Genevan practice.³⁹ Indeed, Simmonds did require that 'no blacke gownes be given, but onelie for twelue poore men, my wife and her household, my mother and brother William', and while requesting that his portrait hang in Haberdasher's Hall and in Winchester's town hall, 'althoughe this may seeme to smell of vayne glorie, yet being better construed it may be thoughte to a better purpose'.⁴⁰ The emphasis in the preamble is clearly predestinarian;

ffirste I here pronounce and beleeeve in th'allmightie God my heavenlie father, who witheoute begininge of his gracious goodnes in time made me and all the worlde, and in his saide mercie when we weare not, chose and elected before the creation of this mortall worlde all suche as in Christe shall receaue the fruition of his glorious kingedome, whereof I saie and hope I am one; so that in conclusion all thinges is done in his maiestie's providence and foreknowledge, bothe heretofore presente and in the ende. Secondlie, I do beleeeve in Jesus Christe my onelie savioure and redeemer, and that he

³⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/123, fos. 179^v-182^r.

³⁹ Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 370-371.

⁴⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 85^r.

is bothe God and man, who in his mercie hathe redeemed me in his glorious deathe, and all others Gode's chosen, from sinne, deathe and hell. And now sittinge at the righte hande of God the father dothe make intercession for vs his people, renounsinge and forsakinge all other mediation or redemption besides him. And at the generall daie and not before, accordinge vnto the scriptures, he shall come from thence to iudge bothe the quicke and the deade. So that all other meanes broughte in by man and his invencion, contrarie to this oure faithe I accompte it to be moste blasphemous vnto the precious bludde of this oure savioure Christe. Thirdlie I do beleue in God the holie ghoste, which as he is witheoute beginninge, so dothe he of his gracious goodnes sanctifie me and all other the electe people of God. All the which three persons I verilie beleue to be truelie in Trinitie, one eternall and glorious God in equallitie, althoughe in persons severall. And as I praise God I beleue this, so graunte, O God my Christe, that at my departure oute of this miserable life, I maie leaue it with a more perfecte fullnes vnto his glorie and my comforte. Amen, amen.⁴¹

Simmonds founded a hospital in Winchester, whose inmates were expected to attend divine service, morning and evening every Sunday, and were to be lashed if they resorted to prostitutes. None were to be drunkards, players in the taverns, or frequenters of ale houses, while the weekly dole of bread he provided in London and Winchester was restricted to the poor who had sat through both service and sermon. Yet he also willed 'that vppon everye Sainct Peter daye in the afternoone at eveninge servis, the poore men and children of this hospitall shall go in solemne order vnto the greate church in that citye of Winchester, and there in the chauncell shall hear the divine servis of evensonge. And because I woulde haue the same evensonge to be solemnelie used and both in songe and vppon the organes musicke shewed, I will and devise that the conservator and governors shall giue out of my landes euerye yeare once vppon that daie for the pains of the singers in the quire sixe shillings and eighte pence...prayinge also that those poore men maie haue sufficient place vppon that daie and time

⁴¹ PRO, PROB. 11/71, fo. 82^r.

in the chauncsell in the highe seates, and flowers laied before them'.⁴² In view of the lengthy controversy over the singing ministers of Christ Church Newgate from the beginning of the reign until 1580, and the increasing emphasis thereafter upon the need for preaching rather than the production of music, Simmonds cannot be described as a puritan.⁴³

Others, indeed, demonstrated their attachment to the established order by providing for church furnishings. In 1606 John Parre, Embroiderer, left 20 marks to his parish, St. Bennett Paul's Wharf 'to builde a lofte vppon pillers...from the place where the roode lofte was, vnto the lofte where maides sitt, for seates to sitt and heare service in'.⁴⁴ William Brookbank, Grocer, and a parishioner of St. Stephen Walbrook, bequeathed a communion cup to the parish of Witham in 1617,⁴⁵ while Thomas Hunt, Fishmonger, left £6 a year to the parish of Falsham in Norfolk 'towards the mayntayninge of their organes there for ever, soe long as they vse them', in 1619.⁴⁶ At the same time there is no evidence to suggest that the possession and printing of works such as Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* were restricted to puritans. John Rogers, Grocer, left a copy of the *Acts and Monuments* to Grocers' Hall in February 1588, and left his copy of the *History of the Church* by Eusebius to Thomas Offley, son of his friend and colleague Alderman Sir Hugh Offley⁴⁷ while the stationer Ralph Newbury had 'the remainder of the Booke of Martirs' among his stock when

⁴² *Ibid.*, fo. 86^v.

⁴³ H. G. Owen, 'Tradition and Reform: Ecclesiastical Controversy in an Elizabethan Parish', *Guildhall Miscellany* II (1960-1968), pp. 63-70.

⁴⁴ PRO, PROB. 11/110, fo. 144^r.

⁴⁵ PRO, PROB. 11/129, fo. 45^v.

⁴⁶ PRO, PROB. 11/129, fo. 63^v.

⁴⁷ PRO, PROB. 11/74, fo. 347^v.

he made his will in March 1603.

The family connections of the rulers clearly cut across any deep-seated 'conformist-puritan divide'. Alderman Sir Christopher Draper of St. Dunstan in the East, appointed as overseers his sons-in-law, the puritan Wolstan Dixie, and Henry Billingsley, benefactor to Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex Colleges. His executor, William Webb, a third son in law, described Sir John Harte as a 'good friend', and left a mourning gown to the lawyer Nicholas Fuller in his will of 1599, but was uncle to the future Archbishop William Laud, to whom he left £100.⁴⁸ Draper provided for fifty two sermons in his parish, to be delivered by William Ashbold, rector of St. Peter's Cornhill and a fellow of the conservative Peterhouse College, and William Powell, praelector of theology at St. Paul's, rector of Allhallows Bread Street and an alumnus of Magdalen College, Oxford.⁴⁹

Sir Humphrey Weld was equally closely connected with the puritan element in the governing class. A parishioner of Allhallows Honey Lane, Weld made his will in May 1610, requiring burial 'without any superstitious ceremonies'. Weld was a friend of the puritan aldermen Sir William Craven and Sir William Romney, and of Alderman Bolles, son-in-law to Sir John Harte and inheritor of the patronage of St. Swithin's.⁵⁰ His wife Mary belonged to the group of godly women of which Rebecca Romney was one, and was the daughter of Alderman Sir Stephen Slaney of St. Swithin's parish, himself closely connected by marriage to the puritans in the City élite.⁵¹

⁴⁸ PRO, PROB. 11/94, fos. 117^r-118^r; N. Tyacke, 'Archbishop Laud', in K. Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church, 1603-1642* (London, 1993), p. 57.

⁴⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/63, fos. 175^v-176^v.

⁵⁰ PRO, PROB. 11/116, fos. 350^v-353^r. Sir William Craven, a parishioner of St. Andrew's Undershaft, was the dedicatee of the puritan Paul Baynes' *A Counterbane against Earthly Carefulness* (1618), RSTC, 1638, a sermon preached in 1617 while Baynes was under suspension: Tyacke, *Fortunes of English Puritanism*, p. 10; PRO, PROB. 11/132, fos. 68^r-73^v.

⁵¹ Tyacke, *Fortunes of English Puritanism*, pp. 7-10, 14.

Yet Weld left no funds for religious purposes except for £5 to Roger Fenton, rector of St. Stephen Walbrook, and a popular preacher. Presented by the Grocers' Company to the rectory of Stephen's, and by King James to that of St. Benet Sherehog, Fenton was no puritan, participating in the preparation of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and being buried under the communion table at St. Stephen's in 1616.⁵²

Sir Stephen Slaney, Skinner, a contemporary of Sir John Harte in St. Swithin's parish, and father-in-law to Humphrey Weld, requested burial without excessive charges 'for that I would have all occasions of offence avoided', and left £6 for twelve sermons in St. Swithin's church, but cannot himself be identified as a puritan from his bequests.⁵³ Just as it is clear in these cases that the religious radicalism within the younger generations of the families, and on the part of the wealthy widows of these men, entailed no real religious divide, it is noticeable that no matter how many puritans did reach the higher levels of City government, there is very little in City policy that can be described as puritan until the 1620s.⁵⁴

In August 1581 Bishop Aylmer, Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's and William Day, Dean of Windsor, wrote to the Lord Mayor informing him that the privy council had required him to make a contribution to providing for preachers in and about the City.⁵⁵ Objecting that his office was already burdensome enough, and that he saw no reason why he should pay more than other parishioners, the Lord Mayor insisted the matter be put before common council. There followed further delays, the City effectively

⁵² PRO, PROB. 11/116, fo. 352^r; Hennessey, pp. 386, 388; *DNB*, s. n. Fenton, Roger.

⁵³ PRO, PROB. 11/113, fos. 33^r-35^r.

⁵⁴ D. A. Williams, 'Puritanism in the City Government 1610-1640', *Guildhall Miscellany* I (1952-59), pp. 3-14.

⁵⁵ *Remembrancia* I, 248.

acknowledging letters from the privy council requesting action, but doing nothing to further the project.⁵⁶ By January 1582 the scheme had lapsed, the Bishop complaining that Mammon had triumphed over God.⁵⁷

Indeed, unlike other municipal authorities, the corporation of London made no attempt to support preaching until 1622, when the parishioners of St. Antholin's petitioned the Mayor and aldermen for financial support to maintain their morning lectures, which they had previously funded from private donations and from parish collections.⁵⁸ A committee of aldermen was appointed to examine the matter, of whom the senior members were all puritans, Sir Thomas Middleton, Sir Thomas Bennet and Sir Thomas Lowe. Middleton and Bennet had been involved in the matter of Sara Venables' will, while Sir Thomas Lowe was Bennet's brother in law, and had received the dedication of works by puritan divines such as John Downname and William Hinde.⁵⁹ Even then, while the committee recommended that the City fund the lectures, which it did from 1622,⁶⁰ the arrangement lapsed in 1630, when the feoffees for impropriations, a puritan body responsible for promoting like-minded clergy to benefices, had claimed the right to nominate and appoint candidates for vacancies in the lectureship, a condition which the court of aldermen had imposed upon their financial

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 249, 250, 255, 256, 291, 296, 297.

⁵⁷ *VCH London* I, pp. 317-318.

⁵⁸ CLRO, Rep. 36, fo. 205^v; H. G. Owen, 'Lectures & Lectureships', pp. 69-70; GL, MS. 1046/1, e.g. fos. 2^v, 9^v, 18^r, 19^r, 23^r, 26^r.

⁵⁹ PRO, PROB. 11/141, fos. 245r-246v; J. Downname, *The Plea of the Poore* (1616), RSTC, 7146; W. Hinde, *A Path to Pietie, Leading the Way: Published for his own Flock and Family [a catechism]* (1613), RSTC, 13515.

⁶⁰ GL MS. 1046/1, fo. 137^v.

support in 1627.⁶¹

Civic legislation to enforce observation of the Sabbath had been enacted frequently under Mary, and, linked to attempts to regulate the theatres, was undertaken regularly throughout Elizabeth's reign. Numerous mayoral precepts commanded better observance of the Lord's Day, and emphasised the moral and religious dangers of theatre-going on the sabbath day. The religious rationale behind the imposition of stricter controls on Sabbath-breaking, clearly stated on a number of occasions, nearly always incorporated wider questions of perceptions of social roles.⁶² Ian Archer has suggested that the presbyterian movement in the City was weak because questions of practical godliness were of greater importance to the City rulers than platforms of church government.⁶³ As we have seen, however, presbyterian clergy enjoyed the support of a significant minority within the City elite, and it is difficult to separate 'practical godliness' from a specifically puritan set of values. It is perhaps better to regard attitudes towards the sabbath, like those towards charity and the close connection between the church service and the distribution of alms, as expressing common values within which the puritans developed certain emphases. Indeed, it is not clear that rigorous attitudes towards the Sabbath became identifiable as a specifically puritan preoccupation until relatively late in Elizabeth's reign.⁶⁴

⁶¹ D. A. Williams, 'Puritanism in City Government', pp. 7-8; I. M. Calder, 'A Seventeenth Century Attempt to Purify the Anglican Church', *American Historical Review* 53, (----), pp. 760-775.

⁶² CLRO, Jor. 16, fos. 61^v, 101^v, 254^v, 301^r; 17, fos. 26^r, 97^r; 19, fo. 138^v; 21, fos. 52^v, 224^v, 255^v, 325^r; 22, 315^v.

⁶³ Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 45.

⁶⁴ P. Collinson, 'The Beginings of English Sabbatarianism', in C. W. Dugmore & C. Duggan (eds.), *Studies in Church History* I (1964), pp. 207-221; K. L. Parker, *The English Sabbath: a Study of Doctrine and Discipline from the Reformation to the Civil War* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 41-91.

Thus most efforts in the Elizabethan period to enforce stricter observance of the Sabbath were directed against theatrical performances, and the tendency for the laity to resort to the tavern rather than the church. Reacting to the Paris Garden disaster of 1582, the Lord Treasurer recommended the Lord Mayor and aldermen to prevent such profane assemblies on the Sabbath-day, while in 1614, in a letter to the Lord Chamberlain detailing the steps he had taken to reform abuses in the City, the Lord Mayor stated that he had endeavoured to keep the Sabbath day holy, for which he had been 'much maligned'.⁶⁵ Measures were taken to keep the theatres closed on Sundays in 1580, 1582, 1592 and 1600, although difficulties were experienced because the privy council insisted that the queen's liking for plays meant that actors had to be permitted to practice their trade if they were to maintain a level of competence adequate to satisfy Elizabeth.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in April 1580 the Lord Mayor wrote to the Lord Chancellor emphasising that the audience attracted to the Theatre were 'a very superfluous sort of men', and that the performance of plays on Sundays not only hindered the worship of God but led to the moral corruption of the youth. In February 1592 the Lord Mayor wrote to Archbishop Whitgift, expressing very similar concerns, while in 1595 and 1597 it was complained that the performance of plays on the Bankside had directly led to an increase of crime in the City.⁶⁷

These concerns are clear in some of the works dictated to the City rulers. Alderman Sir Richard Pipe, for example, received the dedication

⁶⁵ *Remembrancia* I, 458-459; III, 159; Parker, *The English Sabbath*, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁶ *Remembrancia* I, 295, 317, 319, 498, 553, 554, 646; II, 6, 73, 187, 188.

⁶⁷ *Remembrancia* I, 9, 635; II, 103, 171.

of Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, condemning entertainers in general,⁶⁸ while other works stressed the duty of the magistrate to suppress vice.⁶⁹

The Cheapside Cross, demolished as a monument to idolatry during the Civil War,⁷⁰ provided a powerful symbolic focus for puritan activity in the latter years of Elizabeth.⁷¹ Defaced by iconoclasts and repaired twice, the Cross remained a prominent landmark in the centre of the City's main trading and ceremonial thoroughfare. In June 1581 the lowest images around the cross were defaced 'the image of the Blessed Virgin, at that time robbed of her son, and her arms broken, by which she stayed him on her knees; her whole body also was haled with ropes and left likely to fall.'⁷² Informed that the queen desired the cross to be repaired, the Lord Mayor wrote to the privy council, initially insisting that the defacement reported to the queen was, in fact slight and unnoticeable, and had proceeded from 'light persons' pilfering lead from the cross rather than from iconoclastic fervour. He then stressed the fact that many 'strangers and other susperstitious people, misliking the State and religion', knelt to the images on the monument as they passed by 'and daily gave idolatrous

⁶⁸ S. Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse, conteining a Plesant Inuective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such-like Caterpillars of e Comonwelth* (1579), RSTC, 12097. Pipe was also the dedicatee of Bullinger's *Most Godly and Learned Treatise of the Woorthynesse of the Holy Scriptures*, tr. W. Ponsonby (1579), RSTC, 4067.

⁶⁹ G. Whetstone, *A Mirrour for Magistrates of Cyties: Representing the Ordinaunces of the Emperour Alexander Severus to Supresse Vices. Herunto is added a Touchstone for the Time: containyng Mischiefes Bred in London* (1584), RSTC, 25341, dedicated to Alderman Sir Edward Osborne; A. Gibson, *The Land's Mourning for Vaine Swearing: a Sermon Preached at Paul's Crosse* (1613), RSTC, 11829 & J. Taylor, *The Nipping or Snipping of Abuses* (1614), RSTC, 23779, dedicated to Alderman Sir John Swinnerton.

⁷⁰ CLRO, Jor. 40, fo. 58^v.

⁷¹ I owe the following references to Dr. Nicholas Tyacke, who drew my attention to the significance of contemporary attitudes towards Cheapside Cross.

⁷² Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 238-239.

worship thereunto'. Having finally suggested that the refurbishment of the Cross might encourage the papists, and give substance to the predictions of seminary priests of a forthcoming change in religion, the Lord Mayor requested further instructions from the queen.⁷³ The committee which had been appointed to consider 'what corse ys best to be taken concernynge the repayringe of the greate crosse in Cheapesyde', and to prepare that answer to the queen, included the puritan aldermen Sir Richard Martin and John Harte, besides alderman Lionel Duckett, and Nicholas Woodroff, son of the Marian sheriff David Woodroffe.⁷⁴

Minor repairs were made in 1582, with a replacement for the Virgin's child set up. Rather oddly, the remaining defaced images were not restored, but a fountain was constructed at the base of the Cross, 'and in the same an image alabaster of Diana, and water conveyed from the Thames prilling from her naked breast for a time'.⁷⁵ The remaining images were ultimately repaired, at the City's cost, in 1595,⁷⁶ but by November 1599 it was ordered that the chamberlain should have the arms of the cross taken down, since they were in decay and dangerous and replaced. Two months later the cross was described as ruinous, and it was mooted whether to replace the cross on the top of the monument with a pyramid.⁷⁷ Asked for his opinion, over the head of the diocesan of London, Bishop Bancroft, the future Archbishop George Abbot, a Calvinist but no puritan, himself penned a tract condemning the monument, which was republished in the 1640s to

⁷³ *Remembrancia* I, 234.

⁷⁴ CLRO, Rep. 20, fo. 216^r.

⁷⁵ Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 239.

⁷⁶ CLRO, Jor. 25, fo. 230^v; Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 239.

⁷⁷ CLRO, Rep. 25, fos. 2^v, 23^v-24^r; Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 239.

justify its demolition.⁷⁸

Despite orders from the council in the queen's name, it was not until late in 1600 that the Cross was repaired for the last time in Elizabeth's reign, and the committee appointed to 'consider what allowaunce is fitt to be made to the paynters that guilded and painted the crosse in Cheape' included the puritan Thomas Cambell, and Humphrey Weld, closely connected with the puritan rulers.⁷⁹ Even so, within twelve days the image of the Virgin and Child was again defaced. It is suggestive that while the City rulers as a body clearly entertained serious reservations regarding the maintenance of so glaring a reminder of the Catholic past, the puritan members of the elite played a significant role in the corporation's actions. In the same way, when the privy council recommended to the City in 1582 that a collection be held among the wealthy citizens to aid Geneva, threatened by the Duke of Savoy, the money was paid over to the puritan John Bodley for despatch abroad.⁸⁰

It seems clear that while the religious policy of the Corporation reflected the general social and moral concerns of the whole ruling group, specifically puritan initiatives had no place in it, although puritan rulers might take on the responsibility for matters in which they felt a strong interest. If a closely connected puritan grouping within the elite may be discerned emerging by the beginning of James I's reign, it did not prejudice the integrity of the élite because much of the external pattern of puritan piety was motivated by the same social conceptions shared by the whole élite. Devotional works of private spirituality were dedicated to

⁷⁸ G. Abbot, *Cheapside Crosse Censured and Condemned* (London, 1641).

⁷⁹ CLRO, Rep. 25, fo. 262^v.

⁸⁰ *Remembrancia* I, 460, 461; CLRO, Jor. 22, fo. 359^v.

aldermen not known as puritan in inclination.⁸¹ Equally, while some parishes were known to be more inclined towards puritanism than others, the puritans among the rulers did not gather themselves in particular locations, nor did they allow their religious inclinations to dissolve the ties of the parish community. Their charitable and religious benefaction remained overwhelmingly focussed upon the parish community. Sir John Harte placed his parish at the centre of his practical initiatives to propagate the gospel, while many of the puritan rulers, although imposing strict conditions upon their charity, did so wholly within the context of the parish and its regular services. The parochial focus of the rulers's piety represented the continuation of older forms of religious behaviour at the same time as it reinterpreted those forms into a protestant context. Ministers and bishops might complain that the Genevan-style services of the stranger churches, and the abundance of lectures in the City were drawing parishioners away from the prayer book services,⁸² but the powerful merchant princes of London, puritan or otherwise, helped impart a distinctively protestant flavour to the parish worship of the citizens over whom they ruled.

The evidence existing for external pious behaviour suggests that from 1580 not only was protestantism dominant among the aldermen, but that the puritan presence was gradually increasing, although a distinctive puritan presence appears only to have reached the bench in any strength with the

⁸¹ Alderman Sir John Garrard received the dedications of John Downname's *The Plea of the Poore, or, a Treatise of Beneficence and Almes Deedes* (1616), RSTC, 7146, and Thomas Gataker's *Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ: a Funeral Sermon at the Buriall of William Winter* (1623), RSTC, 11653. Among the works dedicated to Alderman Sir Rowland Heyward were A. Flemming, *The Footepathe of Faith, Leading the Highwaie to Heaven. Whereunto is Annexed the Bridge to Blessedness, newlie altered and augmented* (1581), RSTC, 11039; J. Phillips, *A Sommon to Repentance* (1584), RSTC, 19875; E. Wooley, *A New Yere's Gift, Intituled a Playne Pathway to Perfect Rest* (1571), RSTC, 25943.

⁸² Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 274-276.

elevation of younger men at the end of the reign.

Table Fifteen: Religious Profile of Aldermen 1581-1603

Total Number of Aldermen: 76

Number of Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 45

Proportion of Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance: 59.18%

	Number of Aldermen	% of Total Aldermen	% of Aldermen of known Religious Allegiance
Protestant	33	43.48%	73.52
Puritan	11	14.48%	24.44
Catholic	1	1.32%	2.22

It is possible to refine this picture further when the religious profile of the aldermen is broken down chronologically.

	1581-1590		1591-1600		1601-1603	
	% Total Aldermen	% Known Religion	% Total Aldermen	% Known Religion	% Total Aldermen	% Known Religion
Catholic	2.18%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Protestant	43.48%	80%	44.84%	70.92%	48.3%	65.36%
Puritan	8.7%	16%	18.38%	29.06%	25.78%	34.72%
% Aldermen of Known Religious Allegiance	54.34%		63.24%		74.22%	

There is a clear increase in the proportion of aldermen who may be identified as protestant over the period, concurrently with a decrease in the proportion for whom no evidence of religious allegiance exists. Equally the puritan presence clearly grew substantially, more than doubling in the decade 1591-1600 in comparison with the previous decade. In the last years of Elizabeth's reign, a quarter of the aldermen may be identified as puritan in sympathy. Some of the developments among the commoners further broaden this analysis.

Table Sixteen: Religious Profile of Common Council 1584-1586

Total Number of Commoners: 248

Number of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 89

Proportion of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 35.84%

	Number of Commoners	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance
Protestant	73	29.42%	81.96%
Protestant?	3	1.2%	3.38%
Puritan	13	5.24%	14.6%

Table Seventeen: Religious Profile of Common Council 1594-96

Total Number of Commoners: 281

Number of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 93

Proportion of Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance: 33.12%

	Number of Commoners	% Total Commoners	% Commoners of Known Religious Allegiance
Protestant	73	25.98%	78.74%
Protestant?	3	1.06%	3.22%
Puritan	17	6.04%	18.28%

It is a crucial point that a substantially smaller proportion of commoners have left sufficient evidence of their religious sympathies than is the case among the aldermen. While it is clear that some growth in the puritan presence took place, it does not appear to have been of the same magnitude as among the aldermen, although it must be remembered that the increase in the number of puritans in the 1590s arose from the establishment of a strong puritan presence in common council in the later 1570s and 1580s. While we find commoners prepared to support the presbyterian platform, and deprived ministers of that persuasion, for the first time in the mid 1580s, it is not until commoners who had been elected to common council at that date reach the court of aldermen, late in Elizabeth's reign, that we begin to find similar practices amongst the aldermanic élite. The Jacobean

puritan group in the City elite was to some extent a creation of the networks set up below the court of aldermen in the 1580s and 1590s.

Thus, while puritans might represent a relatively small proportion of common council, there were only twenty five aldermen serving at any one time. It required relatively few puritans to reach the bench to establish a more substantial puritan presence. At the same time, it is clear that specifically puritan civic initiatives were not undertaken until well into James I's reign. In the meantime, the court of aldermen employed their puritan members to further or hinder such religious directives of central government which were felt to be detrimental to the City. The puritans among the Elizabethan rulers promoted patterns of public religious behaviour common to the ruling group to which they belonged, and without whose consent they could not impose the distinctive form of godly government which emerged in communities ruled by smaller oligarchies dominated by a few powerful individuals.

Appendix Four: Aldermen and Common Councillors of London 1581-1603
 FO KEY TOW LB UE S pp 61-3

Aldermen 1581-1603

NAME	ALDERMAN SERVICE	MA R A T Y	W L DATE	W L L REQUESTS
Sir William Allen, Leatherseller/Mercer	1558, 59-86	1571-72	NW	
Sir John Allott, Fishmonger	1581-91	1590-91	1589 P4	G H P
Sir Henry Anderson, Grocer	1601-05		1605 P3	K M P
Sir George Barne, Haberdasher	1574-93	1586-87	1591 P6	+ P
Benedict Barnham, Draper	1591-98		1597 P5/6	G L P
Paul Baining, Grocer	1593-1602		1616 P4	M P
Sir Thomas Bennet, Mercer	1594-1627	1603-04	1605 P4	+ PP
Sir Henry Billingsley, Haberdasher	1585-1606	1596-97	1606 P4	O P
Sir Thomas Blank, Haberdasher	1573-88	1582-83	1585 P4	
Sir George Bond, Haberdasher	1578-92	1587-88	1592 P4	G
Francis Bowyer, Grocer	1576-81		1580 P4	
William Boxe, Grocer	1570-81		NW	
Sir John Branch, Draper	1571-86	1580-81	1588 P4	+ P
Robert Brook, Grocer	1590-99		1598 P4	
Sir Cuthbert Buckle, Vintner	1582-94	1593-94	1594 P6	H + P
Sir Martin Calthorp, Draper	1579-89	1588-89	1589 P6	
Sir Thomas Cambell, Ironmonger	1599-1614	1609-10	1612 P6	H M + PP
John Catcher, Pewterer	1588-96		1599 P4	
Roger Clarke, Salter	1597-1605		1607 P4	G H P
Sir William Craven, Merchant Taylor	1600-1618	1610-11	1616 P5	+ PP
Sir Wolstan Dixie, Skinner	1574-94	1585-86	1592 P4	L M + PP
Sir Christopher Draper, Ironmonger	1556-81	1566-67	1580 P4	H P
Sir Lionel Duckett, Mercer	1564-87	1572-73	1585 P6	+ P
William Elkin, Mercer	1586-93		1592 P4	H O + PP
Sir John Garrard, Haberdasher	1592-1625	1601-02	1622 P3	+ P
Giles Garton, Ironmonger	1588-89		1593 P3	
Sir William Glover, Dyer	1601-03		1603 P5	K P
Sir Richard Goddard, Draper	1595-1604		1604 P3	M N P
Richard Gourney, Haberdasher	1589-97		1596 P4	G N P
Sir Leonard Halliday, Merchant Taylor	1594-1612	1605-06	1612 P4	+ P
Sir Robert Hampson, Merchant Taylor	1597-1607		1606 P4	
Sir John Harte, Grocer	1580-1604	1589-90	1604 P5	H O + PP
Sir James Harvey, Ironmonger	1571-83	1581-82	1583 P4	H M P
Sir James Hawes, Clothworker	1565-82	1574-75	NW	+ P
Sir Rowland Heyward, Clothworker	1560-93	1570-71	1592 P4	+ P
Sir Christopher Hoddesdon, Haberdasher	1598-1600		1609 P6	H P
Sir Edward Holmedon, Grocer	1597-1603		NW	
Peter Houghton, Grocer	1593-96		NW	
Robert Howse, Clothworker	1587-91		1586	
William Kimpton, Merchant Taylor	1574-85		NW	
Sir Robert Lee, Merchant Taylor	1593-1605	1602-03	1602 P4	
Sir Thomas Lowe, Haberdasher	1593-1623	1604-05	1623 P4	+ PP
Sir Richard Martin, Goldsmith	1578-1602	1589, 94	NW	+ PP
William Masham, Grocer	1588-94		1600 P4	K P
Sir Thomas Middleton, Grocer	1603-31	1613-14	1630 P4	+ PP
John More, Skinner	1597-1603		1603 --	
Sir Nicholas Mosley, Clothworker	1589-1602	1599-1600	NW	+ P
Hugh Offley, Leatherseller	1588-94		1594 P4	G L P
Sir Thomas Offley, Merchant Taylor	1549-82	1556-57	1580 P4	+ C
Sir Edward Osborne, Clothworker	1573-92	1583-84	NW	
Sir James Pemberton, Goldsmith	1602-13	1611-12	1613 P4	
Henry Prannell, Vintner	1586-89		1589 P4	
Sir Thomas Pullyson, Draper	1573-88	1584-85	NW	
Sir Richard Pipe, Leatherseller/Draper	1570-87	1578-79	1587 P3	+ P
Sir Thomas Ramsey, Grocer	1566-90	1577-78	1585 P4	H P
Anthony Ratcliffe, Merchant Taylor	1586-96		NW	
Sir William Romney, Haberdasher	1602-11		1611 *	K L M + PP
Sir Henry Rowe, Mercer	1596-1612	1607-08	1612 *	G H K P
Sir William Rowe, Ironmonger	1581-93	1592-93	1593 P4	
Sir William Rider, Haberdasher	1591-1611	1600-01	1610 P6	+ P
Sir John Rivers, Grocer	1565-84	1573-74	1584 P5	H P
Sir Richard Saltonstall, Skinner	1588-1601	1597-98	1597 P4	G
Sir Thomas Skinner, Clothworker	1587-96	1596	1596 P4	
Sir Stephen Slaney, Skinner	1584-1608	1595-96	1598 P4	H P
Sir Thomas Smythe, Haberdasher	1599-1601, 04		1622 P6	G M PP

NAME	ALTER SE V E	MAY ALTY	W LL DATE	W LL BEQUES
Sir Stephen Soame, Girdler/Grocer	1589-1619	1598-99	1619 P6	M P
Sir John Spencer, Clothworker	1583-1610	1594-95	NW	
Thomas Starkey, Skinner	1576-88		1592 P4	
Sir John Swinnerton, Merchant Taylor	1602-16	1612-13	1616 P4	G + P
Robert Taylor, Haberdasher	1592-96		NW	
William Thwaite, Fishmonger	1597-98		1595 P5	
Sir John Watts, Clothworker	1594-1616	1606-07	1613 P4	
Sir William Webbe, Salter	1581-99	1591-92	1599 P4	+ P
Sir Humphrey Weld, Grocer	1598-1610	1608-09	1610 P5	+ P
Ralph Woodcock, Grocer	1580-86		1586 P4	
Sir Nicholas Woodroffe, Haberdasher	1571-88	1579-80	1596 P4	

Common Councillors 1584-1586

NAME	W LL DATE	W LL REQUESTS
William Abraham, Vintner	NW	
Thomas Agar, Vintner	NW	
William Albany, Merchant Taylor	1588 P4	
Thomas Aldersey, Haberdasher	1596 P4	K + P
Thomas Allen, Haberdasher	1584 P4	
John Archer, Fishmonger	NW	
Thomas Armstrong, Tallowchandler	NW	
Robert Aske, Goldsmith	NW	+ P
Lawrence Atwell, Skinner	1588 P4	H + P
Morgan Aubry, Salter	1607 P5	
Thomas Audley, Skinner	1590 P6	N P
William Babham, Grocer	NW	
John Baker, Merchant Taylor	1617 P4	
Thomas Banks, Barber-Surgeon	1595 P4	G H P
Francis Barnes, Haberdasher	NW	
Richard Barnes	1598 P5	H + P
Robert Bates, Merchant Taylor	NW	
Thomas Bates, Haberdasher	NW	
Lancelot Bathurst, Grocer (1593)	1596 P5	
Thomas Bayard, Clothworker	1592 P4	
Henry Beecher, Haberdasher	1607 P5	
Henry Billingsley, Haberdasher	1606 P4	O P
John Blunt, Clothworker	1598 P3	+ P
John Bodley, Draper	1591 P5	+ PP
John Bourne, Leatherseller	NW	
Richard Bowdler, Draper	1605 P5	
Michael Boyle, Mercer	NW	
Thomas Bracey, Haberdasher	NW	
Thomas Bradshaw, Mercer	1591 P4	
Edmund Bragge, Haberdasher	NW	
Thomas Bramley, Haberdasher	1602 P3	
Robert Brandon, Goldsmith	1591 P4	H P
Robert Brett, Merchant Taylor	1586 P4	
Robert Brook, Grocer	1598 P4	
Humphrey Browne, Girdler	NW	
John Burnell, Clothworker	1603 P4	
John Cage, Salter	NW	+ P
Florence Caldwell, Haberdasher	1612 P3	M P
Robert Cambell, Ironmonger (1597)	1609 P6	G P
Thomas Cambell, Ironmonger	1612 P6	H M PP
Henry Campion, Mercer	1588 P5	M P
William Carewe, Draper	1588 P5	
Brian Caverley, Draper	1587 P4	G H + P
Robert Chamberlain, Ironmonger (1596)	1607 P4	K P
Richard Churchman	NW	
John Clerke, Clothworker	1586 P4	
Roger Clerke, Salter	1607 P4	G H P
Thomas Clerke, Goldsmith	1592 P5	
William Cockayne, Skinner	1599 P5	
Philip Cockeran, Mercer	NW	
William Cockerham, Skinner	NW	
Robert Cogan, Clothworker	1616 P3	
Henry Colethurst, Grocer	1594 P6	P?
William Cole, Grocer	NW	
Randall Con, Salter	NW	
John Cooper, Fishmonger	NW	
Thomas Corbett, Skinner	1592 P3	
Thomas Cordell, Mercer (1595)	1612 P5	+ P
Richard Cotton, Leatherseller	NW	

NAME	W L	W L REQUESTS			
William Cotton, Ironmonger	NW				
Thomas Cranfield, Mercer	1594 P4				
Richard Crayford, Salter	NW				
Ralph Crew, Mercer	NW				
George Crowder, Vintner	NW				
Richard Culverwell, Mercer	1584 P6		K	M	PP
Thomas Cure, Saddler	1588 P4				
Henry Dale, Haberdasher	NW				
Thomas Danser, Girdler	1590 P4			M	P
William Dasset, Merchant Taylor	1590 P4	H			P
Arthur Dawbeney, Merchant Taylor	NW				
William Davenport	NW				
John Dent, Salter (1589)	1595 P3		J		P
Thomas Denton, Girdler	NW				
Baldwin Derham, Mercer	1603 P3				+ P
Robert Dickinson, Draper	1591 P4				
George Dodd, Vintner	1586 P4			N	P
James Dodson, Currier	NW				
Richard Dodsworth, Merchant Taylor	NW				
William Dodsworth, Merchant Taylor	1593 P4				
Robert Dowe, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Robert East, Ironmonger	1605 P5		J		+ P
John Edmonds, Fishmonger	1599 P4				
Thomas Egerton, Mercer	1590 --				+ P
William Elkin, Mercer	1592 P4	H		O	+ PP
Edward Elliot, Vintner	NW				
Thomas Elliot, Draper	1589 P3				
Edward Elmer, Grocer	1593 P5	G			+ P
Henry Fawkes, Grocer	NW				
Walter Fish, Merchant Taylor	1578 P4*				+ PP
John Fox, Goldsmith	1597 P4			M	P
Richard Fox, Clothworker	NW				
Thomas Gadby, Skinner	NW				
Anthony Garrard, Mercer.	NW				
John Garrard, Haberdasher	1622 P3				+ P
Giles Garton, Ironmonger	1593 P3				
George Gibbes, Fishmonger	1610 P3				
Thomas Gilborne, Clothworker	NW				
James Gonnell, Stationer	1594 P3				
Lawrence Gough, Draper	1600 P4				
Richard Gourney, Haberdasher	1596 P4	G		N	P
Thomas Greene, Cutler	1616 P4				
William Griffin, Haberdasher	NW				
Richard Hale, Grocer	1617 P5	H			P
John Hall, Draper	1618 P4				
John Hall, Skinner	NW				
John Harby, Skinner	1609 P5				
John Harris, Skinner	NW				
John Harrison, Stationer	1613 P4				
John Hawes, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Robert Hawes, Merchant Taylor	1601 P4				
Francis Heton, Goldsmith	NW				
Thomas Heton, Mercer	NW				+ PP
Hugh Henley, Merchant Taylor	1592 P4			M	P
James Hewishe, Grocer	1590 P4		K	M N	+ PP
Henry Hewitt, Clothworker	1597 *	G			
Lawrence Hewitt, Grocer	1614 P6				P
William Hewitt, Clothworker	1599 P5	G H		M	+ P
John Highlord, Skinner	1619 P4	G H			P
Edmund Hill, Woodmonger	1588 P4				
John Hill, Skinner	NW				
Richard Hilles, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4	G			+ P
Johnilliard, Goldsmith	NW				
Christopher Hoddesdon, Haberdasher	1609 P6	H			P
Edmund Hogan, Mercer	1606 P3	G			
Roger Holte, Dyer	NW				
Roger Hoole, Fishmonger	NW				
Robert Horne, Salter	NW				
William Horne, Grocer	1591 P4				
Simon Horsepoole, Draper	1601 P5				
Charles Hoskins, Merchant Taylor	1597 P6				+ P
Henry Hunlock, Merchant Taylor	1610 P6				
Thomas Hunt, Fishmonger	1616 P4	G H	J		P
Humphrey Huntley, Ironmonger	1596 P4				

NAME	W L DATE	W L REQUEST			
John Ireland, Salter	1613 P5	G H			P
Godfrey Isbard, Haberdasher	1585 P4				
Henry Isham II, Grocer	NW				
John Jackman, Grocer	1594 P4				
John Jennings, Draper	1598 P4				
Hugh Keale, Goldsmith	NW				
William Keltridge, Draper	1604 P3				
John Lacey, Clothworker	NW				+ P
John Lawnde, Butcher	1582 P4				
Thomas Lawrence, Goldsmith	1593 P5				
William Levenson, Mercer	1591 P4				
John Lucas, Skinner	1592 P4				
Nicholas Luddington, Grocer	1589 P4*				P
John Lute, Clothworker	1585 P6	H			P
John Marden, Merchant Taylor	1586 P5		M		P
Richard May, Merchant Taylor	1587 P4	G H			P
Thomas May, Vintner	NW				
William Megges I, Draper	1598 P4*	G I		N	PP
Francis Morgan, Vintner	NW				
Hugh Morgan, Grocer	1608 P4	G H			+ P
Richard Morris, Ironmonger	1592 P4				
Francus Morton, Vintner	NW				
Nicholas Moseley, Clothworker	NW				+ P
Robert Mowlde, Cooper	NW				
Gabriel Newman, Joiner	1604 P4				
John Newman, Grocer	1613 P4				+ P
Richard Nicholson, Merchant Taylor	1585 P4				
Vincent Norrington, Grocer	1598 P3				+ P
William Norton, Stationer	1593 P4				
Robert Offley, Haberdasher	1596 P4		K	O	P
William Offley, Merchant Taylor	NW				
John Oldham, Clothworker	NW				
William Onslowe, Scrivener	1609 P3				
Andrew Palmer, Goldsmith	1599 P4				+ P
Lawrence Palmer, Clothworker	NW				
John Pelsaunt, Grocer	1586 P3				
Richard Peter, Brewer	1592 P5			N	P
William Phillips, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Nicholas Pierson, Skinner	1598 --				
William Platsden, Ironmonger	1591 P3	G H			P
Richard Platt, Brewer	1600 P5		M		P
Thomas Pope, Merchant Taylor	1591 P6				+ P
Henry Prannell, Vintner	1589 P4				
Ralph Pratt, Leatherseller	1607 P4	H			P
Morgan Richards, Skinner	1586 P4	G			
William Rider, Salter	1610 P6				+ P
Robert Riggs, Haberdasher	NW				
Thomas Riggs, Haberdasher	NW				
John Rogers, Grocer	1588 P4*			M	P
Henry Rowe, Mercer	1612 *	G H	K		P
Oliver Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1608 P5		K		P
Thomas Russell, Draper	1593 P6		K		P
Richard Saltonstall, Skinner	1597 P4	G			
Thomas Sares, Haberdasher	1587 P4	G			+ P
Stephen Scudamore, Vintner	1585 P4				
William Scudamore, Ironmonger	1601 P4	G			+ P
William Sherrington, Haberdasher	1593 P3				
Peter Simmonds, Mercer	1586 *	G H	K	M	P
William Simpson, Merchant Taylor	1590 P4				
Richard Sleyford, Clothworker	1593 P4				
David Smith, Broiderer	1587 P6	H		M	P
Humphrey Smith, Grocer	1589 P6				P?
James Smith, Mercer	NW				
Thomas Smith, Innholder	NW				
Robert Sowle, Salter	1593 P6				
George Sotherton, Merchant Taylor	1612 --				
Nowell Sotherton, Merchant Taylor	1608 P6	G		M	PP
Nicholas Spencer, Merchant Taylor	1597 P6				+ P
William Squire, Scrivener	1590 P4				
Richard Staper, Clothworker (1594)	1601 P4				+ P
John Stokes, Fishmonger	1595 P4				+ P?
John Stone, Haberdasher	1609 P4				
William Stone, Haberdasher	NW				
John Storer, Baker	1605 P4				

NAME	W DA	L	W	L	BEQUESTS
John Stubbs, Fishmonger	NW				
Henry Tailford, Clothworker	NW				
John Taylor, Haberdasher	1600 P4				
Robert Taylor, Haberdasher	NW				
Thomas Taylor, Goldsmith	1592 P4				
William Tench, Draper	NW				
Thomas Terrell, Grocer	1600 P3		G		+ P
Thomas Thomlinson, Skinner	1603 P5				+ P
William Thorowgood, Draper (1589)	1602 *		H	M	+ PP
John Trott, Draper	1600 P4				
Edward Turfoot, Longbowstring Maker	1589 P4				
Thomas Wade, Ironmonger	1600 P4			K M	+ PP
Geoffrey Walkeden, Skinner	1603 P4				
Thomas Walker, Vintner	1599 P4			K	P
Richard Walters, Girdler	1588 *			K M	PP
Thomas Ware, Fishmonger	1591 P4		H		+ P
Roger Warfield, Grocer	NW				
Nicholas Warner, Skinner	1596 P4			M	P
Christopher Wase, Goldsmith	1602 P4				
Thomas Waye, Vintner	1596 P4				
John Weaver, Mercer	NW				
Henry Webbe, Merchant Taylor	1610 P3				
John Westwraye, Draper	1604 P4				
Nicholas Wheeler, Draper	1585 P4		G		P
Richard Wheeler, Grocer	NW				
William Whitehill, Merchant Taylor	NW				
John White III, Draper	NW				
William Whitmore, Haberdasher	1593 P4				
Richard Wiche, Skinner	1620 P3				
William Widnell, Merchant Taylor	1601 P5				
Thomas Wiggles, Draper	NW				
Roger Wilcockes, Clothworker	1585 P4		G	L	+ PP
Thomas Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1608 P3				
Robert Winche, Grocer	1590 P4		G		
John Withers, Salter	1592 P4				
Robert Withens, Vintner (1590)	1593 P4				
Richard Woare, Dyer	1611 P4				
Thomas Wood, Pewterer	1597 P4			K	P
Arthur Wright, Clothworker	NW				
Richard Wright, Ironmonger	NW				+ P
Richard Young, Grocer	NW				

Common Councillors 1594-1596

John Alden, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Aldersey, Haberdasher	1596 P4		K		+ P
Henry Alderson, Haberdasher	NW				
John Alderson, Vintner	NW				
Francis Allen, Clothworker	1607 P4				
Thomas Allen, Haberdasher	1603 P4		K		P
Robert Allison, Brewer	1599 P4				
Henry Anderson, Henry	1605 P3		K	M	P
John Archer, Fishmonger	NW				
Richard Arnold, Haberdasher	1621 P4				
Walter Artson, Haberdasher	NW				
Richard Ashby, Broiderer	1596 P4				
James Austin, Dyer	1602 P4				
Henry Ayer, Skinner	1599 P5				+ P
Thomas Bagshaw, Baker	NW				
John Ballett, Goldsmith	1595 *	G H			P
Thomas Banks, Barber-Surgeon	1595 P4	G H			P
Thomas Barbor, Salter	1602 P4				
Bartholomew Barnes, Mercer (1599)	1603 P4	G	K		+ PP
Richard Barrett, Mercer	NW				
Nicholas Barry, Fishmonger	1604 P4				
Thomas Bates, Mercer	1608 P4	G			
William Bearblocke, Goldsmith	1621 P6	G		M	P
William Beecher, Hbrdshr	NW				
Thomas Bennett, Mercer	1605 P4				+ PP
William Bennett, Fishmonger	1612 P5		K L		+ PP
Henry Billingsley, Haberdasher	NW				
John Bird, Draper	1610 P4				
George Bishop, Stationer	1608 P4		K		P

NAME	W L DATE	WILL BE UETS			
William Blower, Goldsmith	1597 --				
John Blunt, Clothworker	1598 P3				+ P
William Blunt, Clothworker	NW				
William Bond, Haberdasher	1609 P4				+ P
John Bourne, Leatherseller	NW				
Richard Booth, Clothworker	NW				
Thomas Bowcher, Haberdasher	1593 P4				
Simon Bowman, Mercer	1601 --				
Richard Bowdler, Draper	1605 P5				
Thomas Bramley, Haberdasher	1602 P3				
Cuthbert Brand, Clothworker	NW				
Hugh Brown, Vintner (1599)	1611 P4				
Robert Brett, Merchant Taylor	1586 P4 G				
John Bromfield, Draper	NW				
Thomas Bromfield, Leatherseller	NW				
William Brookbank, Grocer	1616 P4 G J				P
Robert Brook, Goldsmith	NW				
John Burrell, Fishmonger	NW				
Richard Burrell, Grocer	NW				
Henry Butler, Draper	1615 P5				
John Cage, Salter	NW				+ P
Florence Caldwell, Haberdasher	1612 P3			M	P
Thomas Cambell, Ironmonger	1612 P6 H			M	+ PP
Abraham Campion, Clothworker	1611 P5			M	P
John Castlyn, Mercer	1600 P4				
Robert Chamberlain, Ironmonger (1596)	1607 P4				+ P
William Chambers, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Francis Cherry, Vintner	1605 P5				
William Chester, Draper	1603 P4				+ P
Robert Clerke, Haberdasher	1603 P4				
Henry Clitherowe, Ironmonger	1606 P6				
William Cobbe, Painter-Stainer	1595 P3				
William Cockayne, Skinner	1599 P5				
Henry Colethurst, Grocer	1594 P6				P?
Peter Collet, Merchant Taylor (1599)	1606 P3				
James Collymer, Haberdasher	1596 P5				+ P
Richard Cooper, Dyer	NW				
Francis Cordell, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Cordell, Mercer (1595)	1612 P5				+ P
Richard Core	NW				
William Cotton, Draper	1608 P5				
William Craven, Merchant Taylor	1616 P5				+ PP
Caleb Crew, Baker	NW				
Ralph Crew, Mercer	NW				
Richard Crowche, Saddler	NW				
William Crowche, Mercer	1606 P4 H				P
Thomas Davies, Clothworker	NW				
James Deane, Draper	1607 P6 G H			M	P
Richard Denman, Grocer	1615 P4				
Baldwin Derham, Mercer	1603 P3				+ P
Robert Dowe, Merchant Taylor	NW				
Allen Downer, Ironmonger	1609 P3				
Thomas Draper, Brewer	1612 P4				
William Duncombe, Haberdasher	1608 P4				
John Edmonds, Fishmonger	1599 P4				
Simon Edmonds, Goldsmith	1599 P4				
John Edwards, Dyer	NW				
Edward Elliot, Vintner	NW				
Geoffrey Elwayes, Merchant Taylor	1616 P4			K	P
James Emery, Salter	NW				
Nicholas Farrar, Skinner	1620 P6 G			M	PP
Henry Farringdon, Clothworker	NW				
Thomas Farringdon, Vintner	NW				
James Feake, Goldsmith	NW				
Thomas Fettiplace, Ironmonger	1618 *				P
Cornelius Fish, Skinner	1625 P5			K	+ P
Edward Fisher, Skinner (1594)	NW				
Thomas Fisher, Skinner	1612 P5			K	P
Ralph Fitch, Vintner	1623 P4 G				
Robert Flecton, Grocer	NW				
Giles Flemming, Grocer	NW				
John Foulkes, Draper	NW				
Richard Fox, Clothworker	NW				
James Gardener, Fishmonger	1618 P4				

NAME	DATE	W	L	LL	BEQUESTS
John Gardener, Mercer	1618 P5				
Simon Gardener, Fishmonger	1597 P4				
William Garraway, Draper	1624 P5				P?
Christopher Gaylor, Clothworker	1628 P5				
George Gibbes, Fishmonger	1610 P3				
William Glover, Dyer	1603 P5	K			P
Richard Goddard, Draper	1604 P3		M	N	P
Hugh Gold, Grocer	1617 P5/6				
Richard Gore, Merchant Taylor	1622 --				
Lawrence Gough, Draper	1600 P4				
Thomas Greene, Cutler	1616 P4				
William Greenway, Merchant Taylor	NW				
William Greenwell, Merchant Taylor	1620 P5/6				P
Richard Hale, Grocer	1617 P5	H			P
Leonard Halliday, Merchant Taylor	1612 P4				+ P
John Hall, Draper	1618 P4				
Robert Hampson, Merchant Taylor	1606 P4				
Richard Hanbury, Goldsmith	1608 P4	G			
William Hanbury, Baker	1595 P4				
George Hanger, Clothworker	NW				
John Harbie, Skinner	1609 P5				
John Harrison, Stationer	1613 P4				
William Harvey, Grocer	1598 P4				
Robert Hawes, Merchant Taylor	1601 P4				
Thomas Hayes, Draper	1616 P6	K	M		+ PP
Roger Heley, Merchant Taylor	1616 P3				+ P
Henry Heyward, Fishmonger (1597)	NW				
Baptist Hicks, Mercer	NW				+ P
Thomas Hickman, Haberdasher	1619 P4				
William Hickson, Fishmonger	1603 P4				+ PP
William Higgs, Mercer	1610 P4				
John Highlord, Skinner	1619 P4	G	H		P
Christopher Hoddesdon, Haberdasher	1609 P6	H			P
Edmund Hogan, Mercer	1606 P3	G			
Edward Holmeden, Grocer	NW				
Roger Howe, Mercer	1606 *				P
Giles Howland, Grocer	1608 P4	G			
Richard Humble, Vintner (1601)	1616 P5				
Roger Hunne	NW				
Humphrey Huntley, Ironmonger	1596 P4				
Thomas Hunt, Fishmonger	1616 P4	G	H	J	P
Richard Hutton, Armourer	1604 P4	G			
John Ireland, Salter	1613 P5	G	H		P
Henry Isham II, Grocer	NW				
Arthur Jackson, Clothworker	NW				
John Jackson, Clothworker	1601 P4				
John Jolles, Draper	1620 P4				+ P
Roger Jones, Dyer	1605 P4				
Hugh Keale, Goldsmith	NW				
William Keltridge, Draper	1604 P3				
George Kevall, Scrivener	1601 P4	G		K	P
Anthony Keye, Clothworker	NW				
Edward Kimpton, Merchant Taylor	1595 --				
Warner King, Fishmonger	1597 P5	H			P
John Langley, Draper	1626 P4				
Simon Lawrence, Grocer	1592 P5		K		P
Edward Leaming, Draper	NW				
Hugh Lee, Grocer	NW				
Robert Lee, Merchant Taylor	1602 P4				
George Leicester, Haberdasher	1619 P4				
John Lemon, Fishmonger	NW				
William Levenson, Draper	NW				
William Linford, Merchant Taylor	1598 P4	G			
Thomas Lowe, Haberdasher	1623 P4				+ PP
Richard Loxon, Armourer	NW				
Randall Manning, Skinner	1612 P6	H	K	O	+ PP
Robert Marshe, Grocer	1598 P4				+ P
John Martin, Barber-Surgeon	NW				
Matthew Martin, Brewer	1597 P4	G			
Richard Martin Jr., Goldsmith	1616 P4				+ P
Rowland Martin, Leatherseller	NW				
William Masham II	NW				
William Megges II, Draper	1619 *				+ P
Thomas Middleton, Grocer	1630 P4				+ PP

NAME	DA	W L L BEQUE T				
Thomas Middleton, Skinner	NW					
Leonard Mills, Haberdasher	NW					
Roger Montague, Skinner	1617 P6	G	K			P
John Moore, Skinner	1603 --					
Hugh Morgan, Grocer	1608 P4	G H				+ P
Ralph Newbury, Stationer	1603 P5					P
John Newbury, Stationer	NW					
Gabriel Newman, Joiner	1604 P4					
John Newman, Grocer	1613 P4					+ P
Robert Newman, Vintner	NW					
John Newton, Mercer	1620 P4					
Richard North, Merchant Taylor	1593 P4	G				
Robert Offley, Haberdasher	1596 P4		K		O	P
William Offley, Merchant Taylor	NW					
William Onslowe, Scrivener	1609 P3					
Roger Owfield, Fishmonger	1608 P4		K L M	O		PP
Robert Paine, Grocer	1601 P4					
Andrew Palmer, Goldsmith	1599 P4					+ P
Edward Palmer, Haberdasher	1598 P4					+ P
John Parr, Broiderer	1606 P4		J			P
John Pierson, Skinner	NW					
Edmund Pigott, Grocer	NW					
John Pinder, Vintner	1608					
John Piper, Baker	1603 P3					
Richard Platt, Brewer	1600 P5			M		P
Walter Plummer, Merchant Taylor	1607 P4					
Richard Pointell, Fishmonger	1621 P5					
Richard Pointer, Mercer	1598 --					
John Pollard, Broiderer	1624 P4					
John Porter, Fishmonger	1607 P5					
Ralph Pratt, Leatherseller	1607 P4	H				P
Richard Proctor, Merchant Taylor	1609 P4					+ P
William Quarles, Mercer (1599)	1592 P4			M		P
Robert Rawlyns, Merchant Taylor	NW					
John Read, Baker	1619 P5	G				P
William Rich, Haberdasher	NW					
John Robinson, Merchant Taylor (1592)	1599 P6					+ P
Richard Rogers, Goldsmith	NW					
William Romney, Haberdasher	1611 *		K L M			+ PP
Oliver Rowe, Merchant Taylor	1608 P5		K			P
Thomas Russell, Clothworker	NW					
Richard Scales, Salter	1603 P4					
William Scudamore, Ironmonger	1601 P4	G				+ P
John Sewell, Salter	1606 P3					
Thomas Sewell, Salter	1597 P4	G				
Richard Sharp, Waxchandler	1608 P3					
Richard Shepham, Merchant Taylor	1604 --					
William Shute, Broiderer	NW					
John Sibthorne, Mercer	NW					
Oliver Skinner, Salter	1610 P5					
George Smith, Haberdasher	NW					
Gregory Smith, Merchant Taylor	1593 P5					
John Smith, Mercer	1594 P4					
Thomas Smith, Haberdasher	1622 P6	G		M		+ PP
Giles Snode, Draper	NW					
George Sotherton, Merchant Taylor	1612 --					
Nowell Sotherton, Merchant Taylor	1608 P6	G		M		PP
George Southack, Grocer	1604 P6			M		+ P
Nicholas Spencer, Merchant Taylor	1597 *					P
Matthew Springham, Merchant Taylor	1620 P5/6					
Nicholas Staines, Mercer	NW					
Anthony Stanlake, Mercer	1605 P4					
Richard Staper, Clothworker (1594)	1601 P4					+ P
John Stokes, Fishmonger	1595 P4					+ P?
John Stone, Haberdasher	1609 P4					
John Storer, Baker	1605 P4					
Humphrey Street, Merchant Taylor	1626 P5					
Nicholas Style, Grocer	NW					
Oliver Style, Grocer (1596)	1620 P4	G		K		P
Christopher Swadell, Barber-Surgeon	NW					
Stephen Swadell, Fishmonger	NW					
John Swinnerton, Merchant Taylor	1608 --					
John Taylor, Haberdasher	1600 P4					
Thomas Terrell, Grocer	1600 P3	G				+ P

NAME	W DATE	W	L	E	ESTS
Robert Thomas, Draper	1610 P4				
William Thwaites, Fishmonger	1595 P5				
Ralph Treswell, Painter-Stainer	NW				
Richard Venables, Merchant Taylor	1598 P4				+ P
Thomas Wade, Ironmonger	1600 P4		K	M	+ PP
Robert Waldoc, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Walker, Vintner	1599 P4		K		P
William Walthall, Mercer	1607 P4	G	H		P
John Ward, Leatherseller	1595 --				
Richard Ware, Skinner	1607 P4	G			
Lawrence Warner, Skinner	1605 P6			M	P
Nicholas Warner, Skinner	1596 P4			M	P
Christopher Wase, Goldsmith	1602 P4				
John Wase, Clothworker	NW				
William Watson, Draper	1615 --				
John Watts, Clothworker	1613 P4				
John Weaver, Mercer	NW				
Henry Webbe, Merchant Taylor	1610 P3				
Thomas Webbe, Haberdasher	1601 P4	G	H		P
Humphrey Weld, Grocer	1610 P5				+ P
John Wells, Scrivener	1596 P4				
John Westwraye, Draper	1604 P4				
Thomas Wilford, Merchant Taylor	1608 P3				
William Wilkes, Merchant Taylor	1597 P3				
Richard Wiseman, Goldsmith	1618 P4				
Gamaliel Woodford, Grocer	NW				
Thomas Wood, Pewterer	1597 P4			K	P
John Woodward, Ironmonger	1601 *			K	PP
Gregory Young, Grocer	1605 P4				
Richard Young, Grocer	NW				

CHAPTER SIX: THE REFORMATION IN LONDON IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

So far we have considered the impact of the Reformation upon London's ruling elite in isolation. The significance of London's role as a religious centre has been rather diminished by revisionist views, on the grounds that its unusual nature makes it unsuitable as a paradigm for the country at large, and clearly in many senses London was unique within England. The size of its population alone placed it far above the average for English towns, rising from around 60,000 in 1520, to 120,000 in 1550 and 200,000 by 1600.¹ The second City in the realm, Norwich, possessed 8,000 inhabitants in 1520, 17,000 or 18,000 by 1579 and 15,000 by 1600. Bristol, England's third city and the largest port outside London rose even more slowly, from 10,000 in 1520 to 12,000 in 1600. York, the major urban centre of the North, remained at 8,000 throughout the first half of the sixteenth century, rising to 11,500 by the end of the century. No other English town exceeded 10,000 inhabitants by the end of Elizabeth's reign.²

At the same time the rate of London's expansion was phenomenal. By Finlay and Shearer's estimate's the population of London increased by 67% between 1550 and 1600, its share of the national population rising from 4% to nearly 5%. In the same period England's population as a whole rose by 37%, a considerably slower rate of increase. By 1600 the combined population of all other English towns containing over 5,000 amounted to

¹ Beier and Finlay, *London 1500-1700*, pp. 2, 49. But see more recently V Harding 'The Population of London 1550-1700: a review of the published evidence', *London Journal* 15 (1990) pp. 111-128 where these figures are criticized & reduced by up to a half.

² Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p. 83; D. C. Coleman and A. H. John, *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England* (London, 1976), pp. 217-20, 235-41; J. Patten, *English Towns 1500-1700* (London, 1978), pp. 100, 103, 251; *The Records of the City of Norwich*, ed. W. Hudson and J. C. Tingey, 2 vols. (1906-10), II, pp. cxxvii ff.; J. T. Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich* (Oxford, 1979), p. 4n; J. F. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Shopwyke Hall, 1988). Cf. M. McClendon, 'The Quiet Reformation: Norwich Magistrates and the Coming of Protestantism, 1520-1575' Stanford Univ. PhD thesis (1990) pp. 86-87; C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 10.

125,000, or 3% of the national populace.³ Comparisons with continental cities suggest that London was the only English city worthy of the name until around 1700, but that its rate of growth, and its share of the national population, were unusually large even by European standards. London had surpassed Florence, Rome, Madrid and Amsterdam in size by 1550, Venice by 1600 and Naples by 1630, although it did not exceed Paris until 1700. Such European cities tended to contain up to 1.5% of their respective national populations.⁴

Yet London's overwhelming dominance within England was in itself a reflection of its role as the cultural focus of the realm. Unlike Italy, Germany or the Netherlands, England lacked multiple concentrations of wealthy patronage; hence the printing trade and the theatrical profession came to be based at London, while preaching at the great outdoor pulpit of Paul's Cross formed a regular part of the training of the preaching clergyman.⁵ Equally, unlike France or Spain, England lacked the enormous regional geographical variations, with attendant communications difficulties necessary for the development of several significant regional capitals. In this context, it is difficult to see how Lancashire or Cornwall may serve as paradigms for the rest of the realm; indeed, such areas seem rather less representative of English culture than the centre.

It is significant, then, that the pattern of religious developments among London's rulers, seems to be shared, albeit with considerable local

³ Finlay and Shearer, 'Population Growth and Suburban Expansion', pp. 37-40. Their figures for the total English population are derived from E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (London, 1981), pp. 208-9.

⁴ Beier and Finlay, 'The Significance of the Metropolis', pp. 2-4; Finlay and Shearer, 'Population Growth', pp. 38-40.

⁵ European urbanisation; MacClure Paul's Cross Sermons, Theatres, Printing & Book Trade.

variation, by many of the second-rank towns in England.⁶ As early as the 1530s the ruling classes of a number of towns such as Bristol, Norwich, Exeter and Canterbury were exhibiting some degree of evangelical religious sympathies.⁷ Norwich, the second city of the realm, was known as a strongly puritan town under Elizabeth, with a large population of Dutch Calvinists, and had a long history of evangelical and Protestant activity.⁸ Since 1415 the town had been ruled by twenty four aldermen and sixty common councilmen, its chief executive officers being a mayor and two sheriffs.⁹ Evangelicals began to reach the ruling élite before the death of Henry VIII, and had established a considerable presence by the reign of Edward. The Norwich magistrates appear to have kept the detection and punishment of heterodoxy to a minimum under Mary, and succeeded in maintaining corporate unity despite the fact that their own ranks were religiously divided.¹⁰ However it would appear to have been the ravages of epidemic disease which provided Norwich with a predominantly Protestant magistracy at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.¹¹ There does seem to

⁶ P. Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants*, pp. 141-88; *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, pp. 28-59.

⁷ C. Cross, 'The State and Development of Protestantism in English Towns, 1520-1603', in A. C. Duke and R. A. Tamse (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands 7: Church and State Since the Reformation. Papers Delivered to the Seventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference* (The Hague, 1981), pp. 23-44.

⁸ E. Sheppard, 'The Reformation and the Citizens of Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology* 38 (1981).

⁹ M. McClendon, 'The Quiet Reformation: Norwich Magistrates and the Coming of Protestantism, 1520-1575' (Stanford University PhD Thesis, 1990), pp. 23-24; J. F. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Shopwyke Hall, 1988); 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich, 1525-1575', *Past and Present* 34 (1966), pp. 49-69; c.f. J. T. Evans, *Seventeenth Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government, 1620-1690* (Oxford, 1979), ch. 2. For discussion of wider regional context of Reformation in Norwich see D. MacCulloch, *Suffolk and the Tudors: Politics and Religion in an English County 1500-1600* (Oxford, 1986).

¹⁰ McClelland, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-200.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-17;

be some similarity here with the religious developments in London, although losses through disease do not seem to have had quite the same impact. The substantial rate of replacement of aldermen at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign seems to have been due partly to the retirement of older, more conservative aldermen, as well as natural death. While disease seems to have been responsible for a particularly high mortality rate among London's rulers in 1556, this does not seem to have altered the religious profile of the aldermen to any noticeable degree.¹²

The puritan identity of Norwich under Elizabeth is well known, and may suggest some parallels with London. McClendon argues that religious unity returned to the magistrates of Norwich in the early 1560s, after the influenza epidemic irrevocably changed the religious composition of the ruling group. At the same time, she suggests that the reformation of manners, imposed by the mayor's court from 1558 onwards, anticipated the puritan domination of the town by more than a decade, and that, in effect, it was puritanism that helped cement the religious unity of the magistrates.¹³ While there are problems in defining puritanism in terms of cultural shifts common to much of Europe, it is at least clear that the rulers of Norwich were, by and large, essentially Protestant by the 1560s. Equally, puritan religious views were more dominant than among London's rulers, perhaps because the smaller number of parishes led to a closer relationship with the town's clergy, and permitted a relatively small number of puritan individuals to exercise a proportionally greater

¹² F. J. Fisher, 'Influenza and Inflation in Tudor England', *Economic History Review*, 2nd. series, 18 (1965), pp. 120-29, repr. F. J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy 1500-1700*, ed. P. J. Corfield & N. Harte (London, 1990), pp. 163-172.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-38, 246-68.

influence.¹⁴

Bristol, second in size after Norwich, possessed eighteen parishes, divided between the dioceses of Worcester and Bath and Wells.¹⁵ The town went through a degree of internal conflict in the 1530s, when the imposition of royal control over the clergy became a battle between the clerical estate and the corporation. Under Mary the rulers of Bristol demonstrated their disapproval of royal religious policy by refusing to worship in their Cathedral, while early in Elizabeth's reign the corporation was already displaying advanced Protestant tendencies. In 1559 twenty-five Bristol men wrote a letter to the privy council objecting to the retention of popish vestments in the Church. Among the petitioners were two Bristol aldermen, the current sheriffs, and up to ten other members of the local ruling élite. While they may represent a small puritan faction, it is significant that in London none of the aldermen in 1559 are known to have opposed the Elizabethan Church on these grounds, such opinions at that time being restricted to common councillors, usually those who had returned from exile in the Reformed centres of the continent. By the mid 1580s Bristol's corporation was taking responsibility for funding a civic lectureship, a step which London resisted strongly, and, indeed, did not take until 1622.¹⁶

Worcester, divided into ten parishes, and less than half the size of Bristol, was ruled by a governing body comprising a common council with an upper chamber of twenty four members, and a lower chamber of forty eight.

¹⁴ P. Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature', in *Idem.*, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London, 1983), p. 445.

¹⁵ M. C. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-c.1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 11-33.

¹⁶ M. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c.1530-1570* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 130-38 *et passim*.

Two bailiffs and two aldermen represented Worcester's executive officers. In 1564 an episcopal report to the privy council suggested that aldermen and bailiffs were equally split between Protestants and Catholics, but the corporation was notably less Catholic than nearby Hereford, where there were numerous Catholics in the ruling oligarchy and apparently no Protestants. By 1589 Worcester had appointed a town preacher, although a collection for assistance to Geneva did not receive widespread support.¹⁷ In Gloucester from the 1580s we find civic lectureships, hunts for recusants and the preferment of Protestant preachers, along with the usual prohibitions of players and of conventicles meeting in inns. While these may not be specifically puritan, the town rulers were strongly influenced by a group sympathetic to puritan preaching by the 1590s, with the appointment of a puritan to a weekly lecture in 1598.¹⁸

In areas more resistant to the Reformation, the towns seem to display a similar development, although it took place at least a generation later. York's aldermen remained strongly Catholic until well into Elizabeth's reign, and here again it was the commoners who eventually provided the Protestant generation of aldermen.¹⁹ To some extent this seems to reflect the religious atmosphere of the region in which such towns were based²⁰; if the Reformation was essentially an urban phenomenon, the divide between rural and urban was far from clear-cut, even in the case of the larger

¹⁷ A. D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester, 1973), pp. 189-202, 227-39.

¹⁸ P. Clark, 'The Ramoth Gilead of the Good': Urban Change and Political Radicalism at Gloucester 1540-1640', in J. Barry (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town, A Reader in English Urban History 1530-1688* (London, 1990), pp. 244-73.

¹⁹ D. M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534-1553* (York, Borthwicke Paper 40, 1971), pp. 28, 32; *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979).

²⁰ D. M. Palliser, 'Popular Reactions to the Reformation During the Years of Uncertainty 1530-70', in Haigh, *English Reformation Revised*, pp. 94-113.

towns, and in the market towns market-day lectures became an integral feature of the later sixteenth century lay religious experience.²¹

In many English towns, therefore, the adoption of Protestantism seems to have been aided by a relatively small élite group in co-operation with their clergy. Percival Wiburn, it will be remembered, almost succeeded in turning Northampton into a puritan Jerusalem until his plans were scotched by resistance from the local ruling classes in alliance with archiepiscopal disapproval.²² More importantly, it is clear that the leadership of the towns could not have succeeded without substantial local support; the conservatism of York's corporation was underpinned by the conservatism of the laity generally in the region. In London's case the Protestantism of the City rulers seems to have broadly reflected the religious atmosphere of the surrounding counties. Peter Clark has suggested the presence of an influential group among the gentry and clergy of Kent, which ensured that the Marian Catholic restoration did not seriously dent the long-term fortunes of protestantism in this region.²³ R. B. Manning, in his study of Elizabethan Sussex, points out the dangers of attempting to enumerate protestants and Catholics, but has produced a series of estimates of the religious profile of the Sussex gentry from the 1560s to the 1590s. In the 1560s 33 of a total 85 gentry families are designated Catholic, 18 protestant, and 34 as of unknown religious allegiance. By about 1580, of 86 families, 25 are Catholic, 27 Protestant and 34 are of unknown religion. Finally in the 1590s, a total of 86 families, 16 are described as recusant,

²¹ W. J. Sheils, 'Religion in Provincial Towns: Innovation and Tradition', in F. Heal & R. O'Day (eds.), *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I* (London, 1977), pp. 156-76.

²² Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, pp. 141-43.

²³ P. Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution: Religion, Politics and Society in Kent 1500-1640* (Hassocks, Sussex, 1977), pp. 58-59, 66-68, 74-77, 82, 100-103.

3 had heads of the household who harboured recusants, or was a Catholic sympathiser, 22 are protestant, and 45 are of unknown religious opinions.²⁴

Differences between London's social structure and that of the counties make precise comparisons difficult. Nevertheless, it does seem that members of London's ruling élite took on reformed ideas at an early date by the standards of the rest of the south-east, where many of the early evangelical congregations appear to have existed among the lower social strata of the region; it is an important point that the majority of the Marian martyrs came from relatively humble backgrounds.²⁵ Yet by the Elizabethan period, and in London and Norwich early in the Elizabethan period, the local ruling élites were largely Protestant.

Parochial organisation may be a significant factor in the religious developments of certain areas. G. J. Mayhew has argued for a higher incidence of early evangelicalism in the coastal towns of East Sussex; Rye, Winchelsea and Hastings, with their mercantile populations being particularly notable. At the same time the larger, more sparsely populated parishes of the Weald, where communications with the administrative and ecclesiastical centres of the county were poor, were harder to control, and hence more productive of heterodox opinion. Indeed those areas had been noted for Lollardy in the fifteenth century, and produced 15 of Sussex's 25 Marian martyrs. By contrast the more tightly organised parishes, with a single village centred upon church and manor, were more subject to the social influence wielded by their local lords.²⁶

²⁴ R. B. Manning, *Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex. A Study of the Enforcement of the Religious Settlement 1558-1603* (Leicester, 1969), pp. 253-68.

²⁵ Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 293-301; Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp. 219-34.

²⁶ G. J. Mayhew, 'The Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex', pp. 47-49.

Claire Cross has similarly pointed to the importance of geography and social structure in relation to a very different area. Comparing York and Hull, Cross suggests that Hull's relative lack of ecclesiastical provision led the local authorities to resort more to self-help in providing themselves with preaching and lectures, and hence produced a rather more rapid Protestant Reformation than York. The dominance of the Church in York, with several religious houses, a Cathedral and about fifty parish churches at the beginning of the sixteenth-century, and perhaps over 600 regular and secular clergy in a total population of 8,000, maintained a highly conservative presence, at least until the break with Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries.²⁷ Hull, on the other hand, possessed only two parishes, perhaps 50 clergy, and a population of around 4,000. With clerical numbers radically reduced by the dissolutions, the evangelical preacher John Rough had a far greater impact, aided by sympathetic local gentry, than the religious changes had in York. Indeed, while Hull was effectively Protestant by the 1570s, York's governors do not give much evidence of unusually active participation in the Protestant Church until the 1590s.²⁸ Comparing Hull with Leeds, Cross attributes the much more conservative pace of change in the latter town to the conservatism of its single incumbent, a local man not university trained. There is little apparent sign of Protestant piety in the wills from Leeds until a group of Leeds Protestants purchased the advowson of the parish in

²⁷ York's clergy thus represented about 7 or 8% of its total population. London, on the other hand, may have had around 2,000 clergy before the break with Rome, but they represented only 4% of the total 50,000 inhabitants at this time than did the clergy of York: Bridgen, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 46-47.

²⁸ C. Cross, 'Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: A Tale of Two Cities', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, *Studies in Church History* 16 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 269-78.

Yet such organisational structures seem to have provided the conditions within which cultural shifts might flourish after they had made their appearance, rather than deterministic reasons for the local adoption of Reformed religion in themselves. It is clear that the very conditions which favoured heterodoxy under the early Tudors, continued to favour it under Elizabeth. Hence the difficult communications of the Sussex Weald are mirrored in the social and geographical conditions described by Christopher Haigh for Lancashire, and Robert Whiting for Cornwall³⁰: the majority of London's recusants and other religious deviants resided in the expanding suburban parishes outside the direct jurisdiction of the ruling élite.³¹ Nor does this necessarily imply élite manipulation of social structures in order to impose an alien religion for purposes of social control. The very communal bonds which bound the Catholic parochial community, operated to absorb Protestant patterns of piety into the traditional framework. The evangelical Richard Hilles described his relative safety as a prominent evangelical in a parish which contained more Catholics than evangelicals, and where the parish priest was himself a traditionalist. While Hilles busied himself using the parental role of the master to instruct his apprentices in the new religious ideas, the very bonds of the parochial community which he was believed to be threatening

²⁹ C. Cross, 'The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520-1640: the Evidence from Wills', *Northern History* 18 (1982), pp. 230-38.

³⁰ C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); Whiting, *Blind Devotion of the People*. Haigh's strongest case for the ineffectiveness of the spread of puritanism comes from data drawn from Lancashire, which he acknowledges to be an unusually isolated community: *idem*, 'Puritan Evangelism in the Reign of Elizabeth I', *English Historical Review* 92 (1977), pp. 30-58.

³¹ PRO, SP 12/118, fos. 143-151.

shielded him from a figure as powerful as his diocesan ordinary.³² The evangelical group in the parish of St. Magnus, lacking a sympathetic local cleric and subjected to persecution under the Act of Six Articles, nevertheless remained at liberty; the most prominent of them, John Sturgeon became Chamberlain of London, and continued to hold this post throughout Mary's reign and into that of Elizabeth.³³ Within the Mercers' Company the extensive family connections of the Locke-Hickman alliance provided a solid basis for evangelical activity, and the Company became known for its puritan membership later in Elizabeth's reign.

Sir John Harte's position as the puritan patriarch of St. Swithin's London Stone offers the best example of this process. It might be argued that his ownership of the patronage of his parish was unusual, but the means by which he and his puritan and non-puritan parishioners enacted their public piety depended upon a wholly traditional social framework.³⁴ In smaller towns, such as Bury-St.-Edmunds, it was quite possible for a small group of parish notables, who also happened to be the ruling oligarchy of the town, to promote a rigidly godly regime in co-operation with friendly puritan clergy.³⁵ Yet tight parochial structures offered favourable conditions for, rather than explain the cause of, the establishment of Protestantism in a particular region. Among London's large body of ruling citizens it is clear that the significance of the Reformation, at least in part, lay in the fact that many customary patterns of lay pious behaviour could be accommodated within a Protestant national

³² See above, ch. 2.

³³ See above, *loc. cit.*, & ch. 3.

³⁴ See above, ch. 4.

³⁵ Collinson, *Religion of Protestants*, pp. 156-8; *Birthpangs of Protestant England*, pp. 38, 47. C.f. McClendon, 'The Quiet Reformation' pp. 246-72.

church, while the altered context of those practices in turn informed them with an altered meaning.³⁶ The role of the City rulers in participating in this 'post-Reformation' pattern of piety, and enacting it in the parishes where they formed the social leaders, was extremely significant in that through their position as the representatives of traditional authority in the parishes, they reflected and reaffirmed the moral and religious ideals of the local population.³⁷ In the same way, the piety of the pre-Reformation ruling class had provided the material culture and the accepted patterns of pious expression in a Catholic context.³⁸ In effect, the enactment of public religious ritual reaffirmed the symbolic power of those rituals to express the rulers' religious world-view, and in so doing validated the meaning of the rituals, and their centrality to the community.³⁹ The 'parish anglicans' who defended the prayer book against puritans, in fact fit this thesis better than the notion that they were forging a new religion for themselves.

In this context it is important to stress that the early incidence of evangelical religion among the merchant class did not proceed from states of mind predetermined by economic activity. Their links with the book-trade, and their level of education, provided them with readier access to the intellectual currents of the period, rather than making them necessarily predisposed to accept radical religious ideas which might run counter to their fundamental conceptions of community and authority. At the same time, if we reject the notion of religion as a political tool, it

³⁶ See above, pp. 17-21

³⁷ Bloch, *Ritual, History and Power*, pp. 19-45.

³⁸ S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan, 1948), pp. 143-54; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 131-54. C.f. V. Reinburg, 'Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992), pp. 526-46.

³⁹ Sahlins, *Islands of History*, pp. 143-156.

becomes difficult to sustain the suggestion that opposition to the clergy before the break with Rome arose among a small class of merchants and common lawyers, primarily because of naked self-interest dictated by their socio-economic class.⁴⁰

The earliest evangelicals among the London rulers nearly all enjoyed close links with the trade in religious books printed and imported from the Netherlands, and their contacts with evangelical clergy seem to have stemmed from the involvement of the latter in the same activities. To that extent, their greater educational opportunities, their wealth and ready access to foreign markets clearly provided the potential for religious experimentation. Yet, these conditions did not automatically create evangelicals; the great international merchants of Henry's reign, and many of them in the mid-Tudor period, remained staunchly Catholic. Certain companies such as the Grocers and Mercers clearly contained unusually high numbers of evangelicals in the period between 1520 and the reign of Mary, but this seems due to the activities of particular evangelical groupings within those companies, rather than to the predisposition of a particular trading group to seek out radical religious ideas in order to bolster their social position.

Thus it is hard to accept the notion of the Reformation in London, or in other English communities, as a political exercise in social control on the part of a social élite, through the imposition of an unpopular form of religion. Self-conscious manipulation of lay religious culture and morality would imply that the rulers did not participate in the world view of their own society, and were consciously seeking to justify their position outside the accepted frames of reference of their time.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Haigh, 'Anticlericalism and the English Reformation'.

⁴¹ See above, ch. 1.

Certainly, there existed a significant difference between London's aldermen and commoners in the sense that the former reached a significant level of adherence to an evangelical or Protestant religious position considerably later. In large part, however, this may be attributed to age differences rather than divisions between social or economic classes. The aldermen, after all, were recruited from the commoners, and represented in many ways only the wealthier and older section of a single urban élite.

London in the European Context

London's demographic, economic and cultural position was unique in England, and differed in important ways from the great cities on the continent. Hence some pessimism has been expressed regarding the possibility of real comparison between the continental and the European Reformation.⁴² To some extent this view derives from a strong strand in English historiography that holds the English Reformation to have been different from that on the continent because England itself was different. Such arguments are based essentially upon political grounds; the influence of Thomas Cromwell, of Henry VIII, and the relative political isolation of England following the break with Rome and the French capture of Calais in 1558.⁴³ However, if religion is viewed as a cultural, rather than a political phenomenon, we may regard the sixteenth century English people as partaking of the same fundamental belief systems as their continental contemporaries. Indeed, the nature of the German Reformation has been

⁴² W. J. Mommsen (ed.), *Stadtburgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1979), pp. 88-106, 107-127, 128-129.

⁴³ G. R. Elton, 'England and the Continent in the Sixteenth Century', in D. Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c1500-c1750, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 2* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 1-16.

discussed in terms similar to the revisionist debate for England.

Gerald Strauss has pointed out that Lutheran reformers of the mid-sixteenth century displayed much the same sort of pessimism regarding their failure to instill a lively godliness among their flocks as the Elizabethan English divines such as George Gifford; it would appear that truly committed lay Lutherans were as rare in Germany as 'Perkins-style Protestants' were in England. In Strauss's view the reformers failed to inculcate any deep attachment to the new religion among the laity; as the concept of religion came to refer more to doctrine and creed, the religion of the people became further separated from the state religion.⁴⁴ To some extent this is a position similar to that taken by Stephen Ozment, who divides the religion of the clergy and educated social élites from that of the people,⁴⁵ while historians of the Dutch Reformation have also suggested that protestantism failed to touch the population in general until the seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Geoffrey Parker has recently questioned, taking Strauss' work as his paradigm, whether such definitions of 'success' or 'failure', are in fact too narrow, and against the despairing tone of the reformers sets the despairing note of Catholic clergy trying to counter the advance of Protestantism, while Natalie Zemon Davis has argued for the common cultural discourse to be found cutting across social ranks and

⁴⁴ G. Strauss, 'Success and Failure in the German Reformation', *Past and Present* 67 (1975), pp. 30-63; *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore, 1978); 'The Reformation and its Public in an Age of Orthodoxy', in Po-Chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation*, pp. 214; *Enacting the Reformation in Germany: Essays on Institution and Reception* (Aldershot, 1993).

⁴⁵ Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250-1550. An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven, 1980). C.f. *idem* (ed.), *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective* (Chicago, 1971).

⁴⁶ A. C. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London, 1990).

informing popular culture as well as the literary products of the educated.⁴⁷ In particular, the negative tone of the visitation records used by Strauss may reflect the fact that they do not cover the cities. We may compare this circumstance to the revisionist accounts of the English Reformation, where the difference is all the more noticeable because of London's status as the only urban settlement of European importance within the realm.⁴⁸ At the same time, it is clear that, as in England, certain rural areas did display a notably strong attachment to the Protestant religion, although this is not to claim widespread, immediate success.

One of the major problems in this debate is the extent of literacy among the laity, and its precise relationship to the attractiveness of Protestantism for a particular population.⁴⁹ This is itself linked to a broader argument regarding the relationship between the intellectualised religion of social elites and the general populace. In Ozment's formulation this distinction makes Protestantism part of an élite cultural system increasingly withdrawn from contact with the majority of the populace,⁵⁰ while Marxist historians have seen the religious role of social élites as indicative of conflict between social classes, defined in economic and social terms.⁵¹ In this context the role of cities, as

⁴⁷ N. Z. Davis, 'Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion', in C. Trinkaus & H. O. Oberman (eds.), *The Pursuit of Holiness* (Leiden, 1974), pp. 307-36; *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1987).

⁴⁸ G. Parker, 'Success and Failure during the First Century of the Reformation', *Past and Present* 136 (1992), pp. 43-82.

⁴⁹ R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994).

⁵⁰ R. W. Scribner, 'Interpreting Religion in Early Modern Europe', *European Studies Review* 13 (1983), pp. 90-105; G. Strauss, *Enacting the Reformation in Germany*, ch. 16; Ozment, *Age of Reform*.

⁵¹ G. Vogler, 'Imperial City Nuremburg, 1524-1525: The Reform Movement in Transition', in Po-Chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation*, pp. 33-49.

cultural and political centres, where literacy rates were higher and Protestantism made its most spectacular gains, is crucial in the Reformation debate. Indeed, Bernd Moeller has argued that for reformers other than Luther himself, working in larger, more sophisticated urban environments than Wittenburg, the city context formed an essential element in their view of the Christian community.⁵²

Since 1962, when Moeller first published his essay discussing the role of the German Imperial Cities in the Reformation, the place of the city has retained a high profile in Reformation historiography. Although the experience of each city differed during the Reformation, reflecting widely divergent social, political and economic structures, certain broad generalisations can be made, at least in the case of Germany. In the initial years of the Reformation, as Schilling writes, 'when it comes to identifying the groups who supported the Reformation, there is hardly a city in northwestern Germany whose political élite could be named among its earliest' supporters, and this seems to hold broadly true for most German, Swiss and Dutch cities in the 1520s and early 1530s.⁵³ The 'second Reformation', which took place after Lutheranism had lost its dynamic force for expansion, was concentrated in a smaller area, and has been characterised as a period of imposition of Reformed religion from above by urban élites, and is linked with the concept of religious confessionalisation in the later sixteenth century.⁵⁴

⁵² B. Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation, three essays*, ed. and trans. H. C. E. Midelfort and M. U. Edwards (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 85ff.

⁵³ H. Schilling, 'Urban Elites and the Religious Conflicts of the Sixteenth Century', in *idem*, *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Early Modern Society, Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden, 1992), p. 61.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, 'The Second Reformation-Problems and Issues', in *Religion, Political Culture and the Emergence of Modern Society*, pp. 247-301; H. J. Cohn, 'The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559-1622', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 135-66.

Heinz Schilling argues for a continuation of the 'Reformation from below' until well into the sixteenth century. In his view urban Reformations were often facilitated by the rise to power of groups below the highest magisterial rank, although he is careful to suggest that such a process may have been in operation before the Reformation began, or simply represented an accelerated rate of replacement among the elites during the process. The old magistracies were unable to form attachments to Protestantism, and indeed often opposed it, because of their deep spiritual and personal links, with the old, Catholic religious establishment. At the same time the broader strata of burghers were less closely attached to the Catholic Church order, and motivated by a linkage between Lutheran communal theology and the civic communal tradition, felt a natural affinity for solafideism. Yet it tended to be the wealthier members of this burgher strata, closest to the established magistracy, that replaced the Catholic magistrates by the normal processes of government.⁵⁵

By the same token, the Reformation could not put down roots where its particular emphases within the spectrum of Christian belief were not accepted.⁵⁶ Thus, the communal element in the urban Reformation was such that the religious changes tended to take place within the context of the common social values of a town, reaffirming the rule of the very burgher classes that were replacing the older magistracies.⁵⁷ Thus, the experience of London's rulers displays some parallels with the pattern in many continental cities. The Reformation certainly arrived later, and

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-134.

⁵⁶ R. W. Scribner attributes the adherence of Cologne to Catholicism to the desire of its rulers to preserve trade, stability and political control at all costs, and to the powerful influence of its conservative university, which embodied much of the town's civic spirit: *idem*, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), pp. 217-41.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 145-74, 175-84.

there was no replacement of a medieval patriciate by the wealthier members of a thrusting bourgeois class, but it is clear that religious change entered the Court of Aldermen through its younger recruits from common council, where a greater degree of commitment to evangelical religion existed from the later 1520s.

In North Germany and the Baltic, the introduction of reformed religion was generally accomplished by the channelling of unrest by Lutheran preachers, followed by the replacement of the traditional urban patriciates with 'citizen committees', formed of burgesses excluded from power by the traditional elites, in the later 1520s. Lutheran worship tended to survive the return to power of the patriciates in the mid-1530s.⁵⁸ In the South, and particularly around Strasbourg, a different pattern established itself, with the town councils urging restraint upon the reformed preachers, then implementing a Reformation under pressure from the trade guilds.

Strasbourg, containing some 20,000 inhabitants, was one of the largest in the Holy Roman Empire, and one of the most independent. Here the transference of jurisdiction over the city's religious life from the papacy to the magistracy was accomplished by a strong lay commitment to the Lutheran religion, and involved the substantial support of many of the magistrates. It would be wrong to describe this as the imposition of Reformation from above, since in many respects the magistrates lagged behind the Strasbourg laity in their enthusiasm for reform.⁵⁹ However

⁵⁸ S. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven, 1975), pp. 121-31; T. A. Brady, 'In Search of the Godly City: The Domestication of Religion in the German Urban Reformation' in Po-Chia Hsia, *The German People and the Reformation*, pp. 14-31; H. Schilling, 'The Reformation in the Hanseatic Cities', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983), pp. 443-56.

⁵⁹ M. U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform* (New Haven, 1967); L. J. Abray, *The People's Reformation: Magistrates, Clergy and People in Strasbourg 1500-1598* (Oxford, 1985); 'The Laity's Religion: Lutheranism in Sixteenth Century Strasbourg', in R. Po-Chia

Strasbourg does illustrate well the essential difference between London and most German cities, in that its rulers could, by municipal legislation, effect a Reformation in very short order.

Other southern cities accepted the Reformation in a slower, more piecemeal manner. Augsburg, subject to internal dispute between Lutheran and Zwinglian preachers, tolerated Catholicism until 1533, when the council, responded to popular pressure, and the religious concerns of some leading citizens, in implementing Reformation in 1534.⁶⁰ In Zwingli's Zurich his own preaching and that of Reformed colleagues preceeded moves by the town council over 1524-25 to approve the removal of images and the abolition of the traditional mass.⁶¹

In the Netherlands, the Reformation was inextricably bound up with the revolt against Spain. The cities, although large and numerous, 'could not foster a civic patriotism to compare with that bred by the Hanseatic League or the cities of South Germany', since they remained subject to the Court of the regent at Brussels.⁶² In the early sixteenth century the majority of evangelicals in the region were to be found in the south; in Amsterdam, like other Dutch cities, the ruling group could not be described as Protestant until a fundamental purge of its membership was carried out in 1578 by William of Orange. The slow pace of urban Reformation here may reflect the relatively small proportions of Calvinists to be found in Dutch

Hsia (ed.), *The German People and the Reformation* (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 216-32; T. A. Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg, 1520-1555* (Leiden, 1978)

⁶⁰ P. Broadhead, 'Politics and Expediency in the Augsburg Reformation', in P. N. Brooks (ed.), *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens* (London, 1980), pp. 53-70; idem, 'Popular Pressure for Reform in Augsburg, 1524-34', in *Stadtburgertum und Adel*, pp. 80-87.

⁶¹ G. R. Potter, *Zwingli* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 126ff.

⁶² A. C. Duke, 'Building Heaven in Hell's Despite: the Early History of the Reformation in the Towns of the Low Countries', in Duke and Tamse (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands* 7, pp. 45-75.

cities until the 1620s. Duke has suggested that their presence may amount to as few as 5-20% of the urban population.⁶³

The French Reformation was similarly characterised by a high degree of violence, which may have polarised religious identities to a far greater extent than is found in England. Paris and Rouen were both major centres, although Paris outstripped all of its European rivals in size until 1700. Both held a significant protestant presence by the 1540s, yet, in common with all large French cities, their situation was different. Rouen had a powerful agent of the crown in permanent residence, influential in civic affairs, while Paris was the residence of the French king.⁶⁴ In both cases the protestant presence was virtually exterminated in the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew massacres. Yet in some senses Rouen shared a similar situation with London; its rulers never had the power to impose their will by force, since the city militia was drawn from the citizens themselves. Where the real difference lay was in the outbreak of the French wars of religion. The growing prominence of protestants in the city led to an upsurge in serious violence, as well as involving the city in two protracted sieges.⁶⁵

With the arrival of a Calvinist minister in 1557, the protestant body in the City lost its amorphous character, and took on the organised discipline that enabled it to convert between 15-20% of Rouen's population by 1561. What is clear is that it was not the highest ranking merchants who became Calvinist, but those on the fringes of international commerce, while the poorest strata of society failed to contribute to the Protestant

⁶³ A. C. Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618', in Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism*, pp. 117-23; Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, pp. 121-68.

⁶⁴ B. B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross. Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 9-27.

⁶⁵ P. Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 31-45, 51-52.

ranks. The greatest merchants in the City uniformly remained Catholic.⁶⁶ A similar position seems to have characterised Lyon and Antwerp, and in Paris, while perhaps 15% of the Protestant population was comprised of merchants, a much higher proportion of them came from trades associated with high rates of literacy.⁶⁷ To some extent this seems to parallel the situation in London under Henry, although men such as Sir William Locke cannot be regarded as on the fringes of the international mercantile community. Yet it is important to note that while lawyers were disproportionately involved in the activities of the huguenot churches, they were also among the strongest defenders of the old religion; where the local situation permitted, the literate classes might represent differing reactions to shifts within their religious world-view.⁶⁸

Among the German cities, as in Rouen, the governing classes and lawyers seem to be less heavily represented among the Protestants than middling merchants, and it has been suggested that that this might have resulted from the fact that they possessed more immovable wealth, and were thus more concerned with maintaining local stability.⁶⁹ Certainly the Catholic aristocracy of Venice moved into greater investment in lands over the sixteenth century than their Protestant, mercantile counterparts in Amsterdam.⁷⁰ Yet such differences seem to represent more the exploitation of economic opportunities locally available than the determination of

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-94.

⁶⁷ Diefendorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-26.

⁶⁸ D. R. Kelly, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 78-79.

⁶⁹ R. W. Scribner, 'Why was there no Reformation in Cologne?', in *Popular Movements and Popular Culture in Reformation Germany*, pp. 217-41.

⁷⁰ P. Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam: a Study of Seventeenth Century Elites* 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1994).

religious belief through economics. Indeed, Henry Kamen has suggested that one of the main reasons for the failure of Reformed religion to take root in Spain is to be found in the underdeveloped urban structure of the peninsula, and a consequent lack of local urban elites through which a Reformation might take hold.⁷¹

The essential point is that in nearly every German and Swiss town that implemented a Reformation, it was the ruling council that sanctioned the institutional changes abolishing the old religious order, usually under some degree of pressure from a substantial citizen body lower in the civic hierarchy. It is therefore difficult to describe such actions as purely political manipulation of the ignorant lower orders from above, nor can we identify religious belief according to social status or economic activity. A sympathetic urban *élite* provided an important platform for evangelical preachers, but it could not force its townspeople to listen to them.⁷² Nor could a numerically small *élite* impose an unpopular religion upon an entire community, since the *élite* itself represented only the more prominent exponents of the cultural currents common to the wider community.

In this context, London's position becomes clearer. Although not a city-state in itself, and despite its heavy reliance upon the goodwill of the Crown, the City of London lacked a royal presence resident within its own jurisdictional boundaries. Equally, sixteenth century London did not have to contend with the problem of civil war or foreign invasion. In France, the Netherlands and Germany, military aggression posed a recurrent threat, and the religious decisions of their rulers involved a greater degree of physical danger than did those of London. Furthermore London's

⁷¹ R. W. Scribner, R. Porter and M. Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 211.

⁷² R. W. Scribner, 'Preachers and People in the German Towns', in idem, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, pp. 123-43.

internal social organisation meant that its rulers were at one and the same time the leading members of the Corporate City, of the parishes and wards into which the City was divided, and of the craft guilds through which London's economic life was regulated. As the cultural focus of the realm, the religious life of the capital provided a concentrated focal point for the cultural currents working within English society as a whole, and the City's rulers were spokesmen for those currents. While locally specific circumstances played some role in prompting a community to adopt the Protestant form of Christianity, a wider question relates to the divergence between northern and southern Europe as a whole. Protestants and Catholics reacted to similar changes in the European world-view by emphasising different aspects of their common religious culture; the reactions of London's rulers to the Reformation reflected their place in a broader cultural divergence between northern Europe and the Mediterranean world.⁷³

⁷³ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, II, p. 768.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been argued that the revisionist interpretation of the English Reformation is flawed by its failure to provide an adequate definition of the nature of religion and religious belief. Viewed as a cultural system, religion represents the fundamental underpinning of the world-view of an entire culture, in this case that of Western Europe. To that extent the empirical observations of the everyday world were constructed through a Christian framework: when lightning struck the steeple of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1561 most people were not concerned with the problem of whether or not it was a sign of divine anger. Their main concern was with the question of at whom was the divine anger aimed.¹ Similar is John Stow's report of his father's story relating the appearance of the devil upon the steeple of St. Michael Cornhill one evening.

...upon St. James' night, certain men in the loft next under the bells, ringing of a peal, a tempest of lightning and thunder did arise, an ugly shapen sight appeared to them, coming in at the south window, and lighted on the north, for fear whereof they all fell down, and lay as dead for the time, letting the bells ring and cease of their own accord; when the ringers came to themselves, they found certain stones of the north window to be razed and scratched, as if they had been so much butter, printed with a lion's claw; the same stones were fastened there again and so remain till this day. I have seen them oft, and have put a feather or small stick into the holes where the claws had entered three or four inches deep. At the same time certain main timber posts at Queene Hith were scratched and cleft from the top to the bottom; and the pulpit cross in Powle's churchyard was likewise scratched, cleft, and overturned. One of the ringers lived in my youth, whom I have oft heard to verify the same to be true.²

It is evident that Stow believed the tale, and his empirical observations of the depth of the clawmarks necessarily confirmed its truth because the

¹ *Tudor Tracts 1532-1588*, ed. A. J. Pollard (New York, 1964), pp. 403-8.

² Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 176.

basic conceptual structures through which he understood the world had been formed in and by a Christian world-view. We may observe the same phenomenon in the reactions of the ruling class of London to the collapse of a bear-baiting stand in Paris Garden, killing numerous spectators. All agreed that the stand had collapsed because too many people had strained an old and poorly-constructed construction. At the same time the fundamental perception underlying the pragmatic responses of Lord Burghley, Recorder Fleetwood and the Lord Mayor was that God had passed judgement on the sins of those who profaned the Sabbath.³ This was not simply a puritan response, for it would be difficult to argue that Burghley, Fleetwood or the Mayor himself were puritans. However the incident does provide a further illustration of the religious principles that informed the sixteenth century world-view, and shaped the perceptions of all levels of society.

Hence, if the Reformation did not change the Christian belief-system, political actions arising from that belief system did not, indeed could not, impose a radically different religion upon a Christian people. The beliefs that underpinned and actuated the political and doctrinal changes of the Reformation were not utterly opposed to those of the majority of society, but represented a stronger emphasis on certain aspects of a cultural matrix shared by the whole society. Thus, evangelicals in the early years of the Reformation could not be said to be importing an alien religion unless the English world-view was substantially different from that of Europe. At the same time, the changes in government policy from Edwardian Protestantism, to Marian Catholicism, to Elizabethan Protestantism reflected the existence of a wide variety of possible responses to the same basic shifts in European culture. Greater Catholic

³ See above, p 278

concentration on Christ at the expense of the traditional panoply of saints may, to some extent, have represented a direct response to the questions posed by Protestant theology, but it also reflected the broader changes underlying the religious developments of Europe *in toto*.

In that sense the fact that the English laity were able to use the rituals of the Elizabethan Church in a manner which blurred the short-term discontinuities in religious practice does not mean that they can be regarded as Catholics at heart, trying to salvage what they could of the old world from the tattered remnants surviving in their present. Insofar as they belonged to the same cultural world as the intellectuals and social élites who were formulating reflective literary statements about their religion, the majority of the laity practised the same religion.

The rulers of London presided over the only city of European importance in England, the political, economic and ecclesiastical centre of the realm. As such, they represented the spokesmen for the cultural focus of the realm, and for one of the cultural crossroads of Europe. We have seen that élite groups necessarily embody and reinforce the social norms of the society to which they belong; thus, while a complex mixture of local pressures might influence the precise nature of their response to a phenomenon such as the Reformation, and the immediate political situations arising from it, their reactions will take place within a spectrum of potentialities already existing within their society. The Protestant form of Christianity might find support from a social élite, but only where the religious world-view permitted the particular emphases to find expression as opposed to those found in Catholicism. Hence it is difficult to support the notion that urban élites in sixteenth century England were deliberately disseminating Protestant ideas in order to provide theological backing for their economic practices and social

dominance.

We have seen how the patterns of piety of London's élite continued to operate through a traditional system of communal values after the Reformation. This represented more than the failure of Protestantism to implant a fully Reformed religious regime within England: rather it illustrates the point that Sahlins made in reference to the continual reinterpretation of cultural norms to accord with a changing world, while maintaining the validity of those cultural norms.⁴ This was reflected in Elizabethan England in the way in which the concrete manifestations of the religious world-view were being reinterpreted to accord with the new religious context of the post-Reformation world, and were hence being used to make that new context familiar and meaningful. By organising their worship around the Elizabethan Prayer Book, the 'parish anglicans' were doing no more than keeping their religious lives up to date with the world in which they lived.

In much the same way, the reformation of manners, while finding favour with puritans, and providing a vehicle for puritan magistrates and preachers to establish godly regimes in towns such as Norwich and Bury St. Edmunds, was not of itself a specifically puritan model of social policy, much less of social control. In England it represented only the local expression of a cultural shift common to much of Western Europe; in Catholic areas it was represented by the activities of the Jesuits and the redefinition of orthodoxy and heresy that emerged from the Council of Trent.

Hence the divergences between Protestant and Catholic were not perhaps as great as they might appear. In London the number of evangelicals and Protestants grew over the latter decades of Henry VIII's

⁴ Sahlins, *Islands of History*, pp. 136-56.

reign because the religious world-view was changing, and was more capable of accomodating their interpretations of Christianity. Indeed the Edwardian Reformation was rather late in comparison with the continent, and the religious patterns it established, such as the form of the Prayer Books and the organisation of the Church, used many of the older forms that had characterised the Catholic Church of England. By Mary's time shifts in the European world-view meant that the Catholicism of the mid sixteenth century bore a very different stamp from that of earlier years. In its Christocentrism, its greater emphasis on the Word preached and its use of the catechism, Marian Catholicism shared many features with Protestantism: the fact that testators might use similar religious formulae to express divergent interpretations of the faith serves to illustrate the point. If the rulers of London were largely Protestant early in Elizabeth's reign this was because Protestantism had become the predominant religious paradigm in English culture, and in some ways emphasised similar trends within the Christian world-view as the contemporary Catholicism of the Counter Reformation. Immediate political circumstances might favour the emergence of one paradigm over another, but the potential had to exist already in the cultural system in order to permit such predominance.

London's rulers, then, were not a small clique of merchant princes imposing a foreign religion in order to maintain their own status through deliberate social control. Nor was London itself a religious aberration isolated from the rest of England by its adherence to such a foreign religion. Rather, it was the cultural focus of a realm on the fringes of the European cultural system; its rulers might be the friends and familiars of the intellectual élite of the society, but the religious views they expressed through their wills and their attendance at service and sermon were firmly embedded in the religious system of their society as a whole.

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Rep: Repertories of Court of Aldermen.
Jor: Journals of Court of Common Council.
HR: Hustings Rolls (Court of Husting).

Guildhall Library

MS 9051: Registers of Wills in London Archdeaconry Court.
MS 9171: Registers of Wills in London Commissary Court
MS 9172: Original Wills in London Commissary Court
MS 25.626: Registers of Wills proved by Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.
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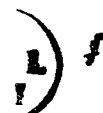
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APPENDIX FIVE: THE RULERS OF LONDON 1520-1603

Name (Aldermen shown in bold)	Company	Date and Archive Reference of Will
ABRAHAM, Thomas		
ACHELEY, John	Merchant Taylor	1586 PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 514 ^r -515 ^v
ACHELEY, Roger	Draper	1515 PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 103
ACTON, Hugh	Merchant Taylor	1530 PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 204 ^v -206 ^r
ADAMS, Richard	Saddler	
ADDINGTON, Thomas	Skinner	1543 PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 23 ^v
AGAR, Thomas	Vintner	
ALBANY, William	Merchant Taylor	1588 PRO, PROB 11/75, fos. 129 ^r -132 ^v
ALDEN, John	Grocer	
ALDERNESS, Robert	Haberdasher	
ALDERSEY, Thomas	Haberdasher	1596 PRO, PROB 11/93, fos. 68 ^r -69 ^v
ALDERSON, Henry	Haberdasher	
ALDERSON, John	Vintner	
ALFORD, Robert	Draper	1546 PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 200 ^r
ALLEN, Christopher	Mercer	1555 PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 302
ALLEN, Francis	Clothworker	1607 PRO, PROB 11/111, fo. 136 ^r - ^v
ALLEN, Richard	Haberdasher	1559 PRO, PROB 11/42b, fo. 253 ^r - ^v
ALLEN, John	Mercer	1545 PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 1
ALLEN, Ralph	Grocer	1541 PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 216
ALLEN, Thomas	Skinner	1523 PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 200 ^r - ^v
ALLEN, Thomas	Skinner	1591 PRO, PROB 11/79, fo. 202 ^r - ^v
ALLEN, Thomas	Haberdasher	1584 PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 7 ^v -8 ^v
ALLEN, Thomas	Haberdasher	1603 PRO, PROB 11/129, fo. 88 ^r - ^v
ALLEN, William	Leatherseller	
ALLISON, Robert	Brewer	1599 PRO, PROB 11/94, fo. 53 ^r - ^v
ALLOTT, John	Fishmonger	1589 PRO, PROB 11/78, fos. 175 ^r -177 ^v
ALSOP, John	Haberdasher	1583 PRO, PROB 11/65, fo. 255 ^r - ^v
ALSOP, Thomas	Grocer	1558 PRO, PROB 11/40, fo. 19 ^r - ^v
ALTHAM, Edward	Clothworker	1548 PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 104 ^r - ^v
ALTHAM, James	Clothworker	1582 PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 128 ^r -128 ^v
ALTHORP, John		
ALTHORP, Nicholas	Grocer	
AMADAS, Robert	Goldsmith	1531 PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 38
AMCOTTES, Hammond	Fishmonger	1562 GL, MS 9171/15, fos. 110 ^v -111 ^v
AMCOTTES, Henry	Fishmonger	1554 PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 67
AMPLEFORD, William	Merchant Taylor	
ANDERSON, Henry	Grocer	1605 PRO, PROB 11/105, fos. 210 ^r -211 ^v
ANDREW, William	Vintner	1569 PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 33 ^v
APPLEYARD, John	Mercer	1537 PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 106 ^r - ^v
ARCHER, John	Fishmonger	
ARCHER, Thomas	Cordwainer	1550 PRO, PROB 11/33, fos. 139 ^v -140 ^v
ARMSTRONG, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	
ARMSTRONG, Thomas	Tallowchandler	
ARNOLD, Richard	Haberdasher	1621 PRO, PROB 11/138, fos. 3 ^r -4 ^v
ARTSON, Walter	Haberdasher	
ASHBY, Richard	Broiderer	1596 PRO, PROB 11/88, fos. 135 ^r -136 ^r
ASKE, Robert	Goldsmith	
ASKEWE, Christopher	Draper	1535 PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 239
ASKEWE, John	Ironmonger	



ATKINSON, Edward	Merchant Taylor		
ATKINSON, Thomas	Scrivener	1572	PRO, PROB 11/55, fo. 28 ^r - ^v
ATWELL, Lawrence	Skinner	1588	PRO, PROB 11/73, fos. 66 ^r -67 ^v
AUBRY, Morgan	Salter	1607	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 381 ^r -382 ^r
AUDLEY, Thomas	Skinner	1590	PRO, PROB 11/80, fos. 132a ^r -134 ^v
AUSTIN, James	Dyer	1602	PRO, PROB 11/100, fos. 72 ^r -74 ^r
AUSTIN, Richard			
AUSTIN, Robert	Grocer	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 247 ^r -248 ^v
AVENON, Alexander	Ironmonger		
AVERELL, Henry	Goldsmith	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 163
AYER, Henry	Skinner	1599	PRO, PROB 11/94, fos. 197 ^r -199 ^r
AYLAND, John	Cutler		
AYLIFFE, John	Grocer	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 186
AYLMER, Lawrence	Draper		
BABHAM, William	Grocer		
BACKHOUSE, Nicholas	Grocer	1576	PRO, PROB 11/62, fos. 213 ^r -214 ^r
BACON, James	Fishmonger	1573	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 210 ^v -212 ^v
BACON, Nicholas	Mercer		
BACON, Thomas	Salter	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 274 ^r -275 ^v
BADSHAM, Thomas	Mercer		
BAGSHAW, Thomas	Baker		
BAILEY, Robert	Mercer		
BAILEY, William	Draper	1532	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 161
BAINING, Paul	Grocer	1616	PRO, PROB 11/128, fos. 256 ^r -257 ^v
BAKER, ----			
BAKER, John	Mercer	1568	PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 42 ^r - ^v
BAKER, John	Merchant Taylor	1617	PRO, PROB 11/131, fos. 352 ^r -353 ^r
BAKER, Peter	Scrivener	1591	PRO, PROB 11/80, fos. 70 ^v -73 ^r
BAKER, William	Mercer		
BALDRY, Thomas	Mercer	1534	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 116
BALLET, John	Goldsmith	1595	PRO, PROB 11/86, fos. 187 ^v -189 ^r
BANKS, Edward	Haberdasher	1566	PRO, PROB 11/48, fo. 431 ^v
BANKS, John	Barber-Surgeon	1553	GL, MS 9171/15, fo. 77 ^r
BANKS, Thomas	Barber-Surgeon	1595	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 372 ^r -374 ^r
BANKS, William	Skinner		
BANNISTER, Thomas	Skinner	1568	PRO, PROB 11/58, fo. 9 ^r - ^v
BANSTEAD, Roger	Broiderer		
BARBOR, Randall	Vintner	1543	GL, MS 9171/11, fo. 110 ^r - ^v
BARBOR, Thomas	Salter	1602	PRO, PROB 11/102, fos. 107 ^r -109 ^r
BARDE, William	Fishmonger	1551	GL, MS 9171/13, fos. 22 ^v -23 ^v
BAREFOOT, Robert	Mercer	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 163 ^v
BARKER, Christopher	Draper		
BARKER, Robert	Vintner	1539	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 151 ^v -152 ^r
BARNARD, John	Mercer		
BARNARD, William	Draper	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 304 ^v -305 ^v
BARNE, George sr.	Haberdasher	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fo. 100
BARNE, George jr.	Haberdasher	1591	PRO, PROB 11/81, fo. 5 ^r - ^v
BARNES, Bartholomew	Mercer		
BARNES, Bartholomew	Mercer	1602	PRO, PROB 11/108, fos. 168 ^v -172 ^v
BARNES, Francis	Haberdasher		
BARNES, Henry	Grocer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 208 ^r -210 ^v
BARNES, Henry	Salter		
BARNES, Humphrey	Ironmonger	1540	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 147 ^v -148 ^v
BARNES, Richard	Mercer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 220 ^v -221 ^v
BARNES, William	Mercer		
BARNES, William	Merchant Taylor	1547	GL, MS 9051/3, fos. 133 ^r -134 ^v

BARNHAM, Benedict	Draper	1597	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 304 ^r -309 ^r
BARNHAM, Francis	Draper	1575	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 76 ^v -78 ^r
BARRETT, Richard	Mercer		
BARRY, Thomas	Salter		
BARRY, Nicholas	Fishmonger	1604	PRO, PROB 11/109, fos. 237 ^r -238 ^r
BARTLETT, Thomas	Painter-Stainer	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fo. 140 ^r
BASFORD, Roger	Mercer	1518	PRO, PROB 11/20, fo. 6
BASHE, Edward	Clothworker		
BASKERVILLE, Humphrey	Mercer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 65 ^r -67 ^v
BATES, Robert	Merchant Taylor		
BATES, Thomas	Haberdasher		
BATES, Thomas	Mercer	1608	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 119 ^v -120 ^r
BATEY, John		1576	GL, MS 25,626/2, fo. 197 ^{r-v}
BATHURST, Lancelot	Grocer	1596	PRO, PROB 11/88, fos. 252 ^v -255 ^r
BAXTER, John	Haberdasher	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 55 ^{r-v}
BAXTER, Robert	Haberdasher	1543	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 156 ^v -157 ^v
BAYARD, Thomas	Clothworker	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 61 ^v -62 ^r
BAYER, William	Grocer	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fo. 256 ^v
BAYFORD, Henry	Merchant Taylor		
BEALE, William	Skinner	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 204 ^v -205 ^r
BEARBLOCKE, William	Goldsmith	1621	PRO, PROB 11/137, fos. 198 ^r -200 ^r
BECKETT, Anselm	Haberdasher	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 308 ^r -312 ^v
BEDELL, Richard			
BEECHER, Henry	Haberdasher	1568	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 74 ^r -77 ^v
BEECHER, Henry	Haberdasher	1607	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 419 ^v -419a ^v
BEECHER, William	Haberdasher		
BEESTON, Cuthbert	Girdler	1581	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 51 ^v -53 ^v
BENBOW, Robert	Vintner		
BENESON, Francis	Haberdasher	1563	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 118 ^r -121 ^r
BENNET, John	Haberdasher	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fo. 328 ^r
BENNET, Thomas	Mercer	1605	PRO, PROB 11/151, fos. 170 ^v -175 ^r
BENNET, William	Fishmonger	1612	PRO, PROB 11/120, fos. 469 ^r -474 ^v
BERKHEAD, John	Vintner		
BESWICK, William	Draper	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 107 ^r -108 ^v
BERRY, William	Draper		
BERTHELET, Thomas	Stationer	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 259 ^v -260 ^r
BEST, John	Haberdasher	1584	PRO, PROB 11/66, fo. 270 ^{r-v}
BIFFIN, John	Brewer		
BILLINGSLEY, Henry I	Haberdasher	1606	PRO, PROB 11/108, fos. 316 ^r -318 ^r
BILLINGSLEY, Henry II	Haberdasher		
BIRD, John	Draper	1610	PRO, PROB 11/116, fo. 91 ^r
BISHOP, George	Stationer	1608	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 9 ^r -11 ^r
BLACKMAN, John	Grocer		
BLAGGE, Michael	Tallowchandler		
BLANK, Thomas sr.	Haberdasher	1562	PRO, PROB 11/46, fos. 302 ^r -305 ^r
BLANK, Thomas jr.	Haberdasher	1585	PRO, PROB 11/73, fo. 40 ^{r-v}
BLANK, William	Haberdasher		
BLASTON, Richard	Mercer		
BLOWER, William	Goldsmith	1597	PRO, PROB 11/90, fo. 135 ^v
BLUNDELL, John	Mercer	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 390 ^v -391 ^v
BLUNT, John	Clothworker	1598	PRO, PROB 11/93, fos. 292 ^v -293 ^v
BLUNT, Thomas	Mercer	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fo. 354 ^v
BLUNT, William	Clothworker		
BODLEY, John	Draper	1591	PRO, PROB 11/78, fos. 275 ^r -276 ^v
BODLEY, William	Grocer	1539	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 132 ^v
BODNAM, William	Grocer	1580	PRO, PROB 11/62, fo. 406 ^{r-v}

BOLD, Philip	Clothworker		
BOND, Anthony	Scrivener		
BOND, George	Haberdasher	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 228 ^v -231 ^r
BOND, Thomas	Mercer		
BOND, William	Haberdasher	1574	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 183 ^r -184 ^v
BOND, William	Haberdasher	1609	PRO, PROB 11/113, fos. 266 ^v -268 ^r
BOOTH, Richard	Clothworker		
BOTRY, William	Mercer	1535	PRO, PROB 11/25, fos. 221 ^r -222 ^r
BOURNE, John	Leatherseller		
BOWCHER, Thomas	Haberdasher	1593	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 333 ^v -334 ^v
BOWDLER, Richard	Draper	1605	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 304 ^v -307 ^r
BOWES, Martin sr.	Goldsmith	1565	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 19 ^r -21 ^v
BOWES, Martin jr.	Goldsmith		
BOWLEY, William	Fishmonger	1575	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 291 ^v -292 ^r
BOWMAN, Simon	Mercer	1601	PRO, PROB 11/102, fos. 332 ^v -333 ^r
BOWYER, Francis	Grocer	1580	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 211 ^r -213 ^v
BOWYER, John	Mercer	1531	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 32 ^v
BOWYER, Thomas	Grocer		
BOWYER, William	Haberdasher		
BOWYER, William	Draper	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 87
BOXE, William	Grocer		
BOYLE, Michael	Mercer		
BRACEY, Thomas	Haberdasher		
BRADSHAW, Thomas	Mercer	1591	PRO, PROB 11/80, fo. 182 ^r - ^v
BRADWELL, John	Prior, Holy Trinity		
BRAGG, Edmund	Haberdasher		
BRAITHEWAITE, George	Draper		
BRAMLEY, Thomas	Haberdasher	1602	PRO, PROB 11/103, fo. 270 ^r
BRANCH, John	Draper	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 185 ^v -186 ^r
BRANCH, John	Draper	1588	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 433 ^r -434 ^r
BRAND, Cuthbert	Clothworker		
BRANDON, Robert	Goldsmith	1591	PRO, PROB 11/77, fos. 339 ^r -343 ^r
BRAWNE, Hugh	Vintner	1611	PRO, PROB 11/125, fos. 276 ^v -280 ^v
BRAY, Dunslowe	Plumber		
BRETT, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 166 ^v -168 ^r
BREWSTER, Thomas	Fishmonger	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 131 ^v -132 ^r
BRICKETT, Robert	Brewer	1537	PRO, PROB 11/26, fos. 37 ^v -39 ^r
BRIGHT, Edward	Ironmonger	1575	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 42 ^r -43 ^r
BRIGHT, William	Grocer		
BRISTOWE, Peter	Grocer	1562	PRO, PROB 11/45, fos. 38 ^r -40 ^r
BROCKETT, William	Goldsmith	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 312 ^r - ^v
BROKE, Richard	Salter		
BROKE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 307 ^r -308 ^r
BROKES, William	Goldsmith		
BROMFIELD, John	Draper		
BROMFIELD, Thomas	Leatherseller		
BROMWELL, William	Mercer	1536	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 13 ^r -15 ^r
BROOK, Robert	Grocer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 192 ^r -194 ^r
BROOK, Robert	Goldsmith		
BROOKBANK, William	Grocer	1616	PRO, PROB 11/129, fos. 44 ^r -46 ^r
BROOKSBY, Bartholomew	Scrivener	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fo. 222 ^r - ^v
BROTHERS, William	Draper	1545	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 354 ^v -355 ^r
BROWN, Humphrey	Girdler		
BROWN, John			
BROWN, John	Haberdasher	1532	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 156
BROWN, John	Clothworker	1574	PRO, PROB 11/59, fo. 105 ^r - ^v

BROWN, Lawrence	Vintner	1527	PRO, PROB 11/20, fo. 22 ^v
BROWN, Robert	Goldsmith	1575	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 198 ^v -200 ^r
BROWN, Thomas	Scrivener	1581	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 7 ^v -9 ^r
BROWN, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 262 ^v -264 ^r
BRUGGE, Giles	Draper	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 85 ^v -86 ^v
BRUGGE, John	Draper	1530	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 165
BUCKLAND, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1558	PRO, PROB 11/41, fos. 121 ^r -123 ^v
BUCKLAND, Richard	Haberdasher	1573	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 252 ^r -253 ^v
BUCKLE, Cuthbert	Vintner	1594	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 87 ^v -90 ^r
BURGOYNE, William	Draper		
BULL, Nicholas	Goldsmith	1554	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 57 ^r -58 ^r
BURLACE, Edward	Mercer	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 70 ^v -71 ^r
BURNELL, Henry	Grocer		
BURNELL, John	Fishmonger		
BURNELL, John	Clothworker	1603	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 34 ^r -35 ^v
BURNELL, Thomas	Mercer	1548	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 189 ^{r-v}
BURRELL, Richard	Grocer		
BURTON, Edmund	Clothworker	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 101 ^v -102 ^r
BURTON, Simon	Waxchandler	1593	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 170 ^r -171 ^v
BUSH, Henry	Skinner	1560	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 132 ^r -133 ^v
BUTLER, Henry	Draper	1615	PRO, PROB 11/125(i), fos. 328 ^v -331 ^v
BUTLER, William	Grocer		
BUTLER, William	Grocer	1528	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 62
BUTTLE, Richard	Merchant Taylor		
CAGE, Anthony	Salter	1581	PRO, PROB 11/66, fos. 31 ^v -35 ^v
CAGE, John	Salter		
CALDWELL, Florence	Haberdasher	1612	PRO, PROB 11/120, fos. 244 ^r -252 ^r
CALICE, Henry	Girdler	1569	PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 169 ^v
CALLARD, Richard	Painter-Stainer		
CALTHORP, Anthony	Mercer	1593	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 184 ^v -187 ^v
CALTHORP, John	Draper		
CALTHORP, Martin	Draper	1589	PRO, PROB 11/73, fo. 379 ^{r-v}
CALTON, Thomas	Goldsmith		
CAMBELL, Robert	Ironmonger	1609	PRO, PROB 11/116, fos. 118 ^r -119 ^r
CAMBELL, Thomas	Ironmonger	1612	PRO, PROB 11/123, fos. 179 ^v -182 ^r
CAMPION, Abraham	Clothworker	1611	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 221 ^r -223 ^v
CAMPION, Henry	Mercer	1588	PRO, PROB 11/73, fos. 102 ^v -103 ^v
CAMPION, William	Grocer	1530	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 84 ^v
CAREWE, William	Draper	1588	PRO, PROB 11/73, fos. 149 ^v -150 ^r
CARKKE, Ralph	Scrivener		
CARLISLE, Alexander	Vintner	1561	PRO, PROB 11/44, fos. 242 ^r -243 ^r
CARTER, Thomas	Draper	1530	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 200 ^{r-v}
CASTLYN, John	Mercer	1600	PRO, PROB 11/138, fo. 165 ^{r-v}
CATCHER, John	Pewterer	1599	PRO, PROB 11/100, fo. 176 ^{r-v}
CATER, John	Vintner	1578	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 315 ^v -318 ^r
CAUNTWELL, William	Fruiterer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 46 ^v -47 ^r
CAVERLEY, Alexander			
CAVERLEY, Brian	Draper	1587	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 157 ^r -159 ^v
CAWNTON, John	Haberdasher		
CHALFONT, Roger	Vintner		
CHAMBERLAIN, Richard	Ironmonger	1563	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 51 ^v -52 ^v
CHAMBERLAIN, Robert	Ironmonger	1607	PRO, PROB 11/110, fos. 384 ^r -388 ^v
CHAMBERS, John	Vintner	1563	GL, MS 9171/15, fo. 216 ^r
CHAMBERS, William	Goldsmith	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 486 ^r -487 ^r
CHAMBERS, William	Merchant Taylor		
CHAMPION, Richard	Draper	1568	PRO, PROB 11/50, fos. 169 ^r -169 ^v

CHAMPION, Walter	Draper	1534	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 56
CHAMPNEYS, John	Skinner	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 148
CHAPMAN, John	Tallowchandler	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 273 ^v -274 ^r
CHAPMAN, Robert	Draper		
CHAPMAN, Thomas	Joiner	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 196 ^v -197 ^v
CHARLEY, John	Cooper	1553	CLRO, HR 246 (130)
CHAUNTERELL, John	Vintner	1547	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 364 ^v
CHAYNEY, Thomas	Salter		
CHELSHAM, William	Mercer	1573	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 182 ^r -183 ^r
CHERRY, Francis	Vintner	1605	PRO, PROB 11/105, fos. 269 ^r -272 ^r
CHERTSEY, Robert	Mercer	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 246
CHESTER, William	Draper		
CHESTER, William	Draper	1603	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 9 ^v -10 ^r
CHEVERALL, Thomas	Haberdasher		
CHEVERALL, William	Draper	1569	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 91 ^v -92 ^r
CHOPPIN, Richard	Tallowchandler	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 257
CHOWNE, Nicholas	Haberdasher	1568	PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 142 ^{r-v}
CHURCHMAN, Richard			
CLARVAUX, Ralph	Grocer	1551	GL, MS 9171/13, fos. 121 ^v -122 ^r
CLAYMOND, Oliver	Clothworker	1539	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 29 ^v -30 ^r
CLAYTON, Thomas	Baker	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 168 ^v -170 ^v
CLERK, John	Draper	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 226 ^{r-v}
CLERK, John	Clothworker	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 171 ^r -172 ^r
CLERK, Roger	Salter	1607	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 85 ^r -89 ^v
CLERK, Roger	Haberdasher	1603	PRO, PROB 11/102, fos. 130 ^v -131 ^r
CLERK, Thomas	Goldsmith	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 153 ^r -154 ^v
CLERK, William	Vintner	1526	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 276 ^v -277 ^r
CLERK, William	Skinner		
CLIFTON, William	Merchant Taylor	1562	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 261 ^r -262 ^r
CLITHEROWE, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 253 ^v -254 ^v
CLITHEROWE, Henry	Ironmonger	1606	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 83 ^r -84 ^r
CLOPTON, Hugh	Mercer	1522	PRO, PROB 11/21, fos. 166 ^v -167 ^r
COBBE, Stephen	Haberdasher	1565	GL, MS 9171/15, fos. 257 ^v -259 ^v
COBBE, William	Painter-Stainer	1595	PRO, PROB 11/90, fos. 312 ^v -313 ^r
COCKAYNE, William	Skinner	1599	PRO, PROB 11/94, fos. 314 ^v -320 ^v
COCKERAN, Philip	Mercer		
COCKERHAM, William	Skinner		
COGAN, Robert	Clothworker	1616	PRO, PROB 11/128, fos. 76 ^v -77 ^v
COLCLOUGH, Matthew	Draper		
COLE, John	Merchant Taylor		
COLE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fos. 164 ^v -165 ^r
COLE, William	Grocer		
COLETHURST, Henry	Grocer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 127 ^r -128 ^r
COLLETT, Humphrey	Bowyer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 122 ^v -123 ^v
COLLETT, Peter	Merchant Taylor	1606	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 25 ^r -28 ^r
COLLINS, Thomas	Salter	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 306
COLLINS, William			
COLLYMER, James	Haberdasher	1596	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 55 ^v -56 ^v
COLMER, John	Grocer	1600	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 184 ^r -185 ^r
COLMER, Richard	Mercer		
COLSELL, Thomas	Mercer	1593	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 172 ^v -173 ^v
CON, Randall	Salter		
CONWAY, John	Smith	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fos. 192 ^v -193 ^r
CONY, Thomas	Fletcher	1527	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 146 ^{r-v}
COOK, John	Haberdasher		
COOPER, John sr.	Fishmonger	1584	PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 182 ^v -184 ^v

COOPER, John jr.	Fishmonger		
COOPER, Richard	Dyer		
COOPER, Walter	Goldsmith		
COOPER, Walter	Tiler		
CORBETT, Richard	Clothworker		
CORBETT, Thomas	Skinner	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 169 ^v -170 ^r
CORDELL, Francis	Grocer		
CORDELL, Thomas	Mercer	1595	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 259 ^v -260 ^r
CORE, John	Grocer	1547	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 2 ^r - ^v
CORE, Richard			
CORNWALL, Clement	Ironmonger		
COSWORTH, John	Mercer		
COTES, John	Salter	1547	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 232
COTTON, Richard	Leatherseller		
COTTON, William	Ironmonger		
COTTON, William	Draper	1608	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 219 ^r -220 ^v
COXE, William			
COXE, William	Grocer	1575	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 247 ^r -248 ^v
COXE, William	Haberdasher	1569	PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 145 ^r - ^v
COXON, Vincent	Skinner	1541	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 175 ^r - ^v
CRANFIELD, Thomas	Mercer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/86, fos. 115 ^r -116 ^v
CRAVEN, William	Merchant Taylor	1616	PRO, PROB 11/132, fos. 68 ^r -73 ^r
CRAYFORD, Richard	Salter		
CREKE, John	Merchant Taylor		
CREMOUR, Thomas	Draper	1526	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 85 ^r -86 ^r
CREW, Caleb	Baker		
CREW, Ralph	Mercer		
CROFT, John	Grocer	1563	GL, MS 9171/15, fo. 212 ^v
CROPPE, Thomas	Haberdasher	1531	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 20 ^r - ^v
CROWCHE, George	Skinner	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 120 ^v -122 ^v
CROWCHE, Richard	Saddler		
CROWCHE, William	Mercer	1606	PRO, PROB 11/107, fos. 225 ^r -226 ^v
CROWTHER, George	Vintner		
CRYMES, John	Clothworker		
CULVERWELL, Richard	Mercer	1584	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 70 ^v -71 ^v
CURE, Thomas	Saddler	1588	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 341 ^v -342 ^r
CURLE, Thomas	Grocer	1539	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 65 ^r -66 ^r
CURTES, Thomas	Pewterer		
CUTLER, Thomas	Tallowchandler	1557	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 65 ^r -67 ^v
CUTLER, William	Scrivener		
DACRES, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 224
DALE, Henry	Haberdasher		
DALE, Matthew	Haberdasher	1549	PRO, PROB 11/33, fo. 90 ^r - ^v
DALTON, Nicholas	Skinner	1568	GL, MS 9171/15, fos. 299 ^v -300 ^r
DANE, John	Goldsmith		
DANE, William	Ironmonger	1563	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 216 ^v -217 ^v
DANSER, Thomas	Girdler	1590	PRO, PROB 11/81, fos. 29 ^v -31 ^v
DASSET, William	Merchant Taylor	1590	PRO, PROB 11/88, fos. 218 ^v -219 ^v
DAUNTSEY, William	Mercer	1543	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 219
DAVENANT, Ralph	Merchant Taylor	1552	PRO, PROB 11/36, fos. 11 ^v -13 ^r
DAVENPORT, William			
DAVIES, Thomas	Clothworker		
DAVY, Thomas	Skinner		
DAWBENEY, Arthur	Merchant Taylor		
DAWBENEY, John	Vintner		
DAWBENEY, Oliver	Tallowchandler		

DAWBENEY, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1558	PRO, PROB 11/41, fos. 139 ^r -140 ^r
DEAL, Roger	Draper	1535	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 222 ^{r-v}
DEANE, James	Draper	1607	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 427 ^v -436 ^v
DENBOLD, Richard	Tallowchandler		
DENHAM, William	Ironmonger	1544	CLRO, HR 248 (134)
DENHAM, William	Goldsmith	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fo. 354 ^{r-v}
DENMAN, Richard	Grocer	1615	PRO, PROB 11/125(i), fo. 346 ^{r-v}
DENT, John	Salter	1595	PRO, PROB 11/86, fos. 295 ^v -298 ^r
DENTON, Thomas	Girdler		
DERHAM, Baldwin	Mercer	1603	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 54 ^v -55 ^v
DICHER, Edward	Clothworker	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 327 ^v -328 ^r
DICKINSON, Robert	Draper	1591	PRO, PROB 11/81, fo. 59 ^r
DIGBY, Benjamin	Mercer	1528	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 160 ^r
DITCHFIELD, Thomas	Salter	1564	PRO, PROB 11/47, fo. 142 ^{r-v}
DIXIE, Wolstan	Skinner	1592	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 1 ^r -5 ^v
DIXON, William	Goldsmith		
DOBBES, Richard	Skinner	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 47
DOBBES, John	Skinner	1563	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 164 ^v -165 ^r
DODD, Bartholomew	Haberdasher		
DODD, Francis	Haberdasher		
DODD, George	Vintner	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 353 ^r -355 ^r
DODD, Philip	Haberdasher	1577	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 79 ^v -80 ^r
DODMER, Ralph	Brewer	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 266
DODSON, James	Currier		
DODSWORTH, Richard	Merchant Taylor		
DODSWORTH, William	Merchant Taylor	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 304 ^r -306 ^v
DOLPHIN, William	Draper	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 44 ^r -45 ^r
DORMER, Michael	Mercer	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 291
DOUGHTY, Thomas	Fishmonger	1537	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 237 ^v -238 ^r
DOWE, Robert	Merchant Taylor		
DOWNER, Alan	Ironmonger	1609	PRO, PROB 11/114, fo. 209 ^{r-v}
DOWNES, Robert	Ironmonger	1556	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 11 ^r -12 ^r
DRAPER, Christopher	Ironmonger	1580	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 175 ^v -176 ^v
DRAPER, Ellis	Haberdasher	1527	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 175 ^{r-v}
DRAPER, Robert	Goldsmith	1544	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 300 ^v -301 ^r
DRAPER, Thomas	Draper		
DRAPER, Thomas	Brewer	1612	PRO, PROB 11/120, fos. 194 ^r -195 ^r
DRAPER, William	Ironmonger		
DRAY, Christopher	Plumber	1551	GL, MS 9171/12, fos. 84 ^v -85 ^v
DUCKETT, Geoffrey	Mercer		
DUCKETT, Lionel	Mercer	1585	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 68 ^r -69 ^v
DUCKETT, William	Grocer	1530	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 18 ^v -19 ^r
DUCKETT, William	Mercer	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fo. 319 ^v
DUFFIELD, John	Mercer		
DUNCOMBE, William	Haberdasher	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fo. 257 ^v
DURRANT, Stephen	Goldsmith		
EAST, Robert	Ironmonger	1605	PRO, PROB 11/107, fos. 258 ^r -259 ^r
EATON, Thomas	Carpenter		
EATON, Thomas	Haberdasher		
EDMONDS, John	Fishmonger	1599	PRO, PROB 11/93, fos. 189 ^v -192 ^r
EDMONDS, Simon	Goldsmith	1599	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 185 ^v -186 ^r
EDWARDS, Christopher	Haberdasher	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fo. 366 ^{r-v}
EDWARDS, John	Dyer		
EGERTON, Thomas	Mercer	1590	CLRO, HR 276 (45)
EGGLESFIELD, Hugh	Leatherseller		
ELKIN, William	Mercer	1592	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 241 ^r -243 ^r

ELLIOT, Edward	Vintner		
ELLIOT, George	Grocer	1549	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 137 ^r - ^v
ELLIOT, John	Mercer		
ELLIOT, Thomas	Draper	1589	PRO, PROB 11/74, fos. 174 ^v -175 ^r
ELMER, Edward	Grocer	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 339 ^v -342 ^v
ELMER, Richard	Fishmonger	1582	PRO, PROB 11/65, fo. 9 ^r - ^v
ELSING, Henry	Baker	1577	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 205 ^r -206 ^r
ELWAYES, Geoffrey	Merchant Taylor	1616	PRO, PROB 11/127, fos. 285 ^v -287 ^r
EMERSON, William	Bowyer	1574	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 231 ^r -232 ^r
EMERY, James	Salter		
ENGLISH, Adam			
ENGLISH, Michael	Mercer	1527	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 193
ENGLISH, Simon	Skinner	1539	PRO, PROB 11/26, fo. 88 ^v
ESSEX, John	Haberdasher	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 59 ^v -60 ^v
EVANS, Robert	Merchant Taylor		
EVESON, Nicholas	Haberdasher		
EVINGER, Andrew	Salter	1526	GL, MS 9171/10, fos. 205 ^v -206 ^r
EXMEWE, Thomas	Goldsmith	1529	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 19
FABIAN, Anthony	Draper	1554	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 119 ^v -121 ^v
FAIREY, John	Mercer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 280 ^r - ^v
FARMER, Richard	Grocer	1551	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 19
FARRAR, Nicholas	Skinner	1620	PRO, PROB 11/135, fos. 255 ^v -257 ^r
FARRINGDON, Henry	Clothworker		
FARRINGDON, Thomas	Vintner		
FAWKES, Henry	Grocer		
FEAKE, James	Goldsmith		
FENROTHER, Robert	Goldsmith	1524	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 149
FERNLEY, William	Mercer		
FETTIPLACE, Thomas	Ironmonger	1618	PRO, PROB 11/132, fos. 130 ^r -131 ^r
FIELD, Matthew	Mercer		
FISH, Cornelius	Skinner	1625	PRO, PROB 11/150, fo. 36 ^r - ^v
FISH, Walter	Merchant Taylor	1578	PRO, PROB 11/68, fos. 421 ^v -422 ^r
FISHER, Edward	Skinner		
FISHER, Henry	Skinner		
FISHER, Jasper	Goldsmith	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 362 ^r -363 ^r
FISHER, John	Merchant Taylor	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fo. 215 ^r
FISHER, Thomas	Skinner	1612	PRO, PROB 11/121, fos. 215 ^v -216 ^v
FITCH, Ralph	Vintner	1623	PRO, PROB 11/142, fos. 258 ^r -259 ^r
FITZWILLIAM, John	Mercer	1571	PRO, PROB 11/53, fo. 196 ^r - ^v
FITZWILLIAM, William	Merchant Taylor	1534	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 243
FLECTON, Robert	Grocer		
FLEMMING, Giles	Grocer		
FLETCHER, William	Grocer	1568	PRO, PROB 11/50, fo. 40 ^r
FORMAN, George	Skinner		
FORMAN, William	Haberdasher	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 235
FOULKES, John	Draper		
FOULKES, Richard	Clothworker	1570	PRO, PROB 11/52, fo. 276 ^v
FOWLER, Edward	Grocer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/48, fo. 263 ^r - ^v
FOX, John	Goldsmith	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 438 ^r -440 ^r
FOX, Michael	Draper		
FOX, Richard	Goldsmith		
FOX, Richard	Clothworker		
FRANKLAND, William	Clothworker	1574	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 151 ^v -152 ^v
FRIAR, Robert	Goldsmith	1575	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 193 ^v -194 ^r
FULLER, Thomas	Mercer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 39 ^v -40 ^r
GADBY, Thomas	Skinner		

GALE, Thomas	Haberdasher		
GAMAGE, Anthony	Ironmonger	1571	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 253 ^v -256 ^v
GARDENER, James	Fishmonger	1618	PRO, PROB 11/145, fos. 228 ^r -229 ^r
GARDENER, John	Mercer	1618	PRO, PROB 11/131, fos. 470 ^v -471 ^r
GARDENER, Simon	Fishmonger	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 115 ^r -116 ^r
GARDENER, Thomas	Goldsmith	1576	PRO, PROB 11/58, fo. 71 ^r
GARRARD, Anthony	Mercer		
GARRARD, John	Draper	1534	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 214 ^r
GARRARD, John	Haberdasher	1622	PRO, PROB 11/145, fos. 424 ^r -425 ^v
GARRARD, William	Haberdasher	1570	PRO, PROB 11/54, fos. 18 ^r -20 ^v
GARRAWAY, William	Draper	1624	PRO, PROB 11/148, fos. 35 ^r -37 ^v
GARTON, Giles	Ironmonger	1593	PRO, PROB 11/81, fo. 257 ^{r-v}
GAYLOR, Christopher	Clothworker	1628	PRO, PROB 11/155, fo. 40 ^{r-v}
GEDGE, Robert	Mercer	1529	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 22 ^{r-v}
GEOFFREY, Thomas	Dyer		
GERVEYS, Richard	Mercer	1555	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 26
GIBBES, Edward			
GIBBES, George	Fishmonger	1610	PRO, PROB 11/128, fos. 305 ^v -307 ^r
GIBBES, John	Vintner		
GIBBONS, William	Salter		
GIBSON, Nicholas	Grocer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 93
GIBSON, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1534	PRO, PROB 11/25, fos. 153 ^r -154 ^r
GIBSON, William	Merchant Taylor	1538	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 168 ^{r-v}
GIFFORD, William	Mercer		
GILBERT, Edward	Goldsmith		
GILBORNE, Thomas	Clothworker		
GITTENS, David	Vintner		
GITTENS, Richard	Vintner	1525	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 288 ^r
GLOVER, William	Dyer	1603	PRO, PROB 11/103, fos. 344 ^r -349 ^r
GOD, John	Merchant Taylor	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 178 ^r -180 ^r
GODDARD, Richard	Draper	1604	PRO, PROB 11/103, fos. 272 ^v -274 ^v
GOLD, Hugh	Grocer	1617	PRO, PROB 11/129, fo. 396 ^{r-v}
GOLDSTONE, Richard	Salter	1565	PRO, PROB 11/46, fos. 167 ^v -169 ^v
GOLLINGFORD, James	Skinner		
GONNELL, James	Stationer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 318 ^v -319 ^v
GONSON, William	Grocer		
GOODYEAR, Henry	Leatherseller	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 179
GORE, Gerard	Merchant Taylor	1602	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 54 ^r -56 ^r
GORE, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1622	PRO, PROB 11/141, fo. 32 ^v
GORE, Thomas	Grocer	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fo. 382 ^{r-v}
GOUGH, Lawrence	Draper	1600	PRO, PROB 11/105, fo. 106 ^{r-v}
GOURNEY, Richard	Haberdasher	1596	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 268 ^r -271 ^r
GRACE, Richard	Goldsmith	1560	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 134 ^r -135 ^r
GRAFTON, Richard	Grocer		
GRAINGER, Richard	Haberdasher	1597	PRO, PROB 11/90, fo. 384 ^{r-v}
GREENE, John	Grocer	1595	PRO, PROB 11/86, fo. 64 ^r
GREENE, Lawrence	Cutler	1580	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 61 ^r -62 ^r
GREENE, Thomas	Cutler	1616	PRO, PROB 11/130, fos. 227 ^r -228 ^v
GREENWAY, Ralph	Grocer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fo. 240
GREENWAY, William	Merchant Taylor		
GREENWELL, William	Merchant Taylor	1620	PRO, PROB 11/136, fos. 114 ^r -115 ^v
GRESHAM, John sr.	Mercer	1554	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 192
GRESHAM, John jr.	Mercer		
GRESHAM, Richard	Mercer	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 233
GRESHAM, William	Mercer	1548	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 60 ^{r-v}
GRIFFIN, William	Haberdasher		

GUMMER, William	Salter		
GUNDERBY, Thomas	Skinner		
GUNNE, John	Merchant Taylor	1528	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 119 ^r -120 ^v
GUNNE, Thomas	Grocer		
GUNNE, William	Salter		
GUNTER, Philip	Skinner	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 64 ^v -68 ^r
HADDON, John	Dyer		
HAGAR, John	Mercer		
HAGAR, William	Salter	1574	PRO, PROB 11/56, fo. 316 ^v
HAITHEWAITE, Michael	Pewterer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 354 ^r -356 ^r
HALE, Richard	Grocer	1617	PRO, PROB 11/137, fos. 159 ^v -162 ^v
HALL, Anthony	Skinner		
HALL, Edward	Haberdasher	1583	PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 260 ^r -262 ^v
HALL, John	Grocer	1529	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 22 ^r
HALL, John	Skinner		
HALL, John	Draper	1618	PRO, PROB 11/132, fo. 485 ^r - ^v
HALL, Richard	Ironmonger	1541	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 20 ^r - ^v
HALL, Thomas	Clothworker		
HALL, Thomas	Salter	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 95 ^v -97 ^r
HALLIDAY, Leonard	Merchant Taylor	1612	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 31 ^v -32 ^r
HAMMOND, William			
HAMPSON, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1606	PRO, PROB 11/110, fos. 30 ^v -35 ^r
HAMPTON, William	Skinner	1528	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 80 ^v -81 ^v
HANBURY, Richard	Goldsmith	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 89 ^v -94 ^v
HANBURY, William	Baker	1595	PRO, PROB 11/86, fos. 154 ^v -155 ^v
HANCHETT, Richard	Skinner	1526	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 86 ^v -88 ^r
HANCHETT, Thomas	Skinner		
HANCOCK, Nicholas	Prior, Holy Trinity		
HANCOCK, Thomas	Vintner		
HANCOCKS, William	Vintner		
HANGER, George	Clothworker		
HANSARD, John	Skinner	1527	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 22 ^r
HARBY, John Goldsmith			
HARBY, John	Skinner	1609	PRO, PROB 11/115, fos. 241 ^r -242 ^r
HARDING, John	Salter	1576	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 202 ^r -204 ^v
HARDING, Robert	Salter	1568	PRO, PROB 11/50, fos. 188 ^r -189 ^v
HARDY, John	Haberdasher	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 105
HARE, John	Mercer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 36 ^r -38 ^v
HARGEST, Roger			
HARPER, William	Merchant Taylor	1573	PRO, PROB 11/56, fos. 105 ^v -106 ^r
HARRIS, John	Skinner		
HARRIS, Robert	Draper		
HARRISON, John	Goldsmith		
HARRISON, John	Stationer	1613	PRO, PROB 11/129, fos. 122 ^r -124 ^r
HARRISON, Thomas	Draper	1576	PRO, PROB 11/57, fo. 426 ^v
HARTE, John	Grocer	1604	PRO, PROB 11/103, fos. 1 ^r -7 ^r
HARTOP, Robert	Goldsmith	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 175 ^r - ^v
HARVEY, James	Ironmonger	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 307 ^r -310 ^r
HARVEY, William	Grocer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/91, fo. 212 ^r - ^v
HASELWOOD, Thomas	Brewer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 154 ^r -155 ^v
HASLOP, Thomas			
HAYES, Thomas	Goldsmith	1549	PRO, PROB 11/34, fo. 6 ^r - ^v
HAYES, Thomas	Draper	1616	PRO, PROB 11/130, fos. 213 ^v -224 ^r
HAYES, William	Goldsmith	1529	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 199 ^v -200 ^r
HAYES, William	Salter		
HAWES, George	Salter	1598	PRO, PROB 11/92, fo. 127 ^r - ^v

HAWES, James	Clothworker			
HAWES, John	Clothworker			
HAWES, John	Clothworker	1573	PRO, PROB 11/56, fos. 132 ^v -133 ^v	
HAWES, John	Merchant Taylor			
HAWES, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1601	PRO, PROB 11/98, fos. 370 ^v -372 ^v	
HEATHE, John	Cooper			
HEATHE, John	Painter-Stainer	1552	PRO, PROB 11/36, fos. 51 ^r -52 ^r	
HEATHE, Stephen	Cooper			
HEATHE, Thomas	Baker			
HELEY, Roger	Merchant Taylor	1616	PRO, PROB 11/127, fo. 477 ^{r-v}	
HENLEY, Hugh	Merchant Taylor	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 312 ^v -314 ^v	
HERDES, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1556	PRO, PROB 11/44, fos. 230 ^v -231 ^r	
HERDSON, Henry	Skinner	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 276	
HETON, Francis	Goldsmith			
HETON, George	Merchant Taylor			
HETON, Thomas	Haberdasher	1530	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 101 ^r	
HETON, Thomas	Mercer			
HETON, William	Merchant Taylor	1603	GL, MS 9171/19, fo. 329 ^{r-v}	
HEWITT, Henry	Clothworker	1597	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 82 ^v -86 ^r	
HEWITT, Lawrence	Grocer	1614	PRO, PROB 11/123, fos. 165 ^v -167 ^v	
HEWITT, Thomas	Clothworker			
HEWITT, William	Clothworker	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 70 ^v -72 ^v	
HEWITT, William	Clothworker	1599	PRO, PROB 11/94, fos. 29 ^r -35 ^r	
HEWISHE, James	Grocer	1590	PRO, PROB 11/76, fos. 182 ^v -187 ^v	
HEYDON, John	Mercer	1579	PRO, PROB 11/66, fos. 106 ^v -113 ^r	
HEYDON, Thomas	Mercer			
HEYWARD, Edward	Draper			
HEYWARD, Henry	Fishmonger			
HEYWARD, Rowland	Clothworker	1592	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 178 ^r -180 ^r	
HICKMAN, Anthony	Mercer			
HICKMAN, Thomas	Haberdasher	1619	PRO, PROB 11/139, fo. 210 ^{r-v}	
HICKS, Baptist	Mercer			
HICKSON, John	Dyer			
HICKSON, William	Fishmonger	1603	PRO, PROB 11/102, fo. 312 ^{r-v}	
HIGGES, William	Mercer	1610	PRO, PROB 11/124, fos. 187 ^r -189 ^r	
HIGGINS, Anthony	Skinner			
HIGHLORD, John	Skinner	1619	PRO, PROB 11/134, fos. 308 ^r -313 ^v	
HILL, Edmund	Woodmonger	1588	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 370 ^v -371 ^v	
HILL, John	Haberdasher	1535	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 161 ^{r-v}	
HILL, John	Cutler			
HILL, John	Skinner			
HILL, Richard	Mercer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/50, fo. 159 ^v	
HILL, Rowland	Mercer	1560	PRO, PROB 11/44, fos. 259 ^r -260 ^r	
HILLES, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1587	PRO, PROB 11/75, fos. 286 ^v -289 ^r	
HILLIARD, John	Goldsmith			
HILTON, Richard	Vintner	1539	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 207 ^{r-v}	
HILTON, Thomas	Merchant Taylor			
HITCHCOCK, Ralph	Grocer	1573	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 196 ^v -197 ^r	
HOBSON, William	Haberdasher	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 81 ^r -83 ^v	
HODDESDON, Christopher	Haberdasher	1609	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 133 ^r -135 ^r	
HODDESDON, William	Mercer			
HODDESDON, William	Merchant Taylor			
HOGAN, Edmund	Mercer	1606	PRO, PROB 11/114, fo. 319 ^{r-v}	
HOLLES, William	Mercer	1541	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 109	
HOLLILAND, James	Scrivener			
HOLMEDON, Edward	Grocer			

HOLTE, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1550	PRO, PROB 11/33, fo. 225 ^v
HOLTE, Roger	Dyer		
HONE, John	Tallowchandler	1535	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 130 ^v -131 ^r
HONNING, William	Fishmonger	1543	PRO, PROB 11/33, fo. 150 ^{r-v}
HOOLE, Roger	Fishmonger		
HORNE, George	Haberdasher		
HORNE, Henry	Grocer	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 109 ^v -110 ^r
HORNE, Robert	Salter		
HORNE, William	Grocer	1591	PRO, PROB 11/80, fos. 28 ^r -30 ^r
HORNELL, Richard	Grocer		
HORSEPOOLE, Simon	Draper	1601	PRO, PROB 11/99, fos. 107 ^r -108 ^v
HORTON, Roger	Goldsmith	1556	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 53 ^v -54 ^r
HOSKINS, Charles	Merchant Taylor	1597	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 49 ^v -51 ^v
HOUGHTON, Peter	Grocer		
HOWE, Nicholas	Butcher		
HOWE, Roger	Mercer	1606	PRO, PROB 11/108, fos. 291 ^r -293 ^r
HOWLAND, Giles	Grocer	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 143 ^v -145 ^v
HOWLAND, John	Salter	1568	PRO, PROB 11/52, fos. 165 ^v -167 ^v
HOWSE, Robert	Clothworker	1586	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 74 ^v -76 ^r
HUBERTHORN, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 127
HUDSON, Edmund	Brewer	1528	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 231 ^{r-v}
HUGHES, Gerrard	Goldsmith		
HUGHES, John	Mercer		
HULSON, John			
HULSON, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1580	PRO, PROB 11/62, fos. 242 ^r -243 ^r
HUMBLE, Richard	Vintner	1616	PRO, PROB 11/127, fos. 338 ^r -339 ^v
HUNLOCK, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1610	PRO, PROB 11/121, fo. 158 ^{r-v}
HUNNE, Roger			
HUNT, Thomas	Skinner	1557	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 107 ^r -111 ^r
HUNT, Thomas	Fishmonger	1616	PRO, PROB 11/129, fos. 62 ^r -64 ^r
HUNTLEY, Humphrey	Ironmonger	1596	PRO, PROB 11/87, fos. 181 ^r -183 ^r
HUSSEY, John	Vintner	1549	GL, MS 9171/12, fo. 27 ^v
HUTTON, Richard	Armourer	1604	PRO, PROB 11/120, fos. 141 ^r -142 ^r
HYNDE, Augustine	Clothworker	1554	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 45
HYNDE, Thomas	Mercer	1529	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 33 ^v -34 ^v
HYNDE, Thomas	Plumber		
IBGRAVE, Robert	Broiderer		
IBGRAVE, Thomas	Broiderer		
IBGRAVE, William		1555	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 50 ^v -51 ^r
IRELAND, John	Salter	1613	PRO, PROB 11/123, fos. 477 ^r -479 ^v
ISBARD, Godfrey	Haberdasher	1585	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 27 ^v -27a ^v
ISBORNE, Lawrence	Draper		
ISHAM, Henry I	Grocer		
ISHAM, Henry II	Grocer		
JACKMAN, Edward	Grocer	1568	PRO, PROB 11/52, fos. 23 ^r -26 ^r
JACKMAN, John	Grocer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 239 ^r -240 ^v
JACKSON, Arthur	Clothworker		
JACKSON, Bennet	Butcher	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 263 ^{r-v}
JACKSON, John	Founder	1579	PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 133 ^v -134 ^v
JACKSON, John	Clothworker	1601	PRO, PROB 11/101, fo. 143 ^{r-v}
JACQUES, John	Merchant Taylor	1556	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 38 ^r -39 ^r
JAMES, William	Cutler	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fos. 117 ^r -118 ^r
JENNINGS, John	Draper	1598	PRO, PROB 11/95, fos. 278 ^r -279 ^r
JENNINGS, Thomas	Girdler		
JENNINGS, Thomas	Fishmonger	1580	PRO, PROB 11/62, fos. 71 ^r -72 ^v
JENYNS, Bernard	Skinner	1551	PRO, PROB 11/35, fos. 114 ^v -116 ^r

JENYNS, Edward	Skinner		
JENYNS, Nicholas	Skinner	1531	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 165
JENYNS, Stephen	Taylor	1522	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 103
JENYNS, William	Brewer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 47 ^v -48 ^r
JERRARD, John	Merchant Taylor	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 29 ^r -30 ^r
JOHNSON, John	Skinner	1548	PRO, PROB 11/34, fo. 148 ^{r-v}
JOHNSON, Leonard	Fishmonger	1542	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 125 ^{r-v}
JOHNSON, Michael	Goldsmith		
JOHNSON, Robert	Currier		
JOHNSON, Thomas	Haberdasher	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 186 ^r -188 ^v
JOHNSON, William	Haberdasher	1568	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 70 ^r -71 ^r
JOLLES, John	Draper	1620	PRO, PROB 11/137, fos. 496 ^v -500 ^r
JONES, David	Barber-Surgeon		
JONES, David	Baker	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fo. 280 ^r -281 ^r
JONES, Roger	Dyer	1605	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 68 ^r -70 ^r
JUDGE, Andrew	Skinner	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fo. 416
KEALE, Hugh	Goldsmith		
KEBLE, Henry	Vintner		
KEIGHTLEY, Thomas	Leatherseller	1585	PRO, PROB 11/70, fo. 4 ^{r-v}
KELKE, Clement	Haberdasher	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 210 ^v -211 ^v
KELSICKE, William	Brewer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 87 ^v -88 ^r
KELTRIDGE, William	Draper	1604	PRO, PROB 11/104, fos. 198 ^r -199 ^r
KEMP, Edmund	Mercer	1542	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 64 ^r -65 ^r
KEVALL, George	Scrivener	1601	PRO, PROB 11/98, fos. 131 ^r -132 ^v
KEY, Anthony	Clothworker		
KEY, Edmund	Salter	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 218 ^v -219 ^r
KEYES, Robert	Merchant Taylor		
KEYSER, Nicholas	Vintner	1554	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 82 ^{r-v}
KIDDERMINSTER, John	Draper	1543	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 286 ^r -287 ^v
KIMPTON, Edward	Merchant Taylor	1595	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 214 ^v -215 ^r
KIMPTON, William	Merchant Taylor		
KING, Alan	Vintner	1544	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 174 ^r
KING, John	Tallowchandler		
KING, John	Tallowchandler	1603	PRO, PROB 11/102, fos. 214 ^v -215 ^r
KING, Nicholas	Tallowchandler	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fo. 286 ^{r-v}
KING, Robert	Haberdasher	1570	PRO, PROB 11/52, fo. 257 ^{r-v}
KING, Warner	Fishmonger	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 334 ^r -336 ^v
KINVELSMARSH, Richard	Mercer	1574	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 140 ^r -141 ^v
KIRBY, John	Grocer	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 258 ^r -259 ^r
KIRKELEY, William	Clothworker		
KIRRY, Thomas	Salter		
KIRTON, Stephen	Merchant Taylor	1552	PRO, PROB 11/36, fo. 124
KITCHEN, Thomas	Pewterer	1579	GL, MS 9172/10d, fo. 157 ^r
KITSON, Thomas	Mercer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 230
KNIGHT, Humphrey	Fishmonger	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 272 ^{r-v}
KNIGHT, Richard	Mercer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fo. 312 ^r
KNIGHT, Thomas	Fishmonger	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 290 ^v
KNOTTING, John	Grocer		
KYME, John	Mercer		
LACEY, John	Clothworker		
LAMB, William	Clothworker	1580	PRO, PROB 11/62, fos. 157 ^r -159 ^r
LAMBERT, Francis	Grocer		
LAMBERT, John	Draper	1553	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 41
LAMBERT, John	Grocer	1580	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 21 ^v -23 ^r
LAMBERT, Nicholas	Grocer	1528	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 31
LAMBERT, Richard	Grocer	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 191 ^v -194 ^r

LANE, John	Grocer	1556	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 369 ^v -370 ^r
LANE, William	Grocer	1552	PRO, PROB 11/35, fos. 254 ^v -256 ^v
LANGLEY, John	Goldsmith	1577	PRO, PROB 11/60, fo. 2 ^{r-v}
LANGLEY, John	Draper	1626	PRO, PROB 11/149, fos. 27 ^v -28 ^v
LANGTON, William	Mercer	1551	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 62 ^v
LARKIN, Henry	Merchant Taylor		
LATHAM, Ralph	Goldsmith	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 269 ^{r-v}
LAWNDE, John	Butcher	1582	PRO, PROB 11/71, fo. 131 ^{r-v}
LAWRENCE, Simon	Grocer	1592	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 122 ^v -123 ^r
LAWRENCE, Thomas	Goldsmith	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 243 ^r -245 ^r
LAWSE, John	Salter		
LAXTON, William	Grocer	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fo. 79
LEAMING, Edward	Draper		
LEDER, Oliver	Fishmonger	1554	PRO, PROB 11/40, fos. 134 ^v -136 ^r
LEE, Edmund	Salter		
LEE, Hugh	Grocer		
LEE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1602	PRO, PROB 11/108, fos. 137 ^r -139 ^r
LEE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1527	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 174 ^{r-v}
LEICESTER, George	Haberdasher	1619	PRO, PROB 11/134, fos. 175 ^v -175a ^r
LEIGH, Henry	Draper	1568	GL, MS 9171/15, fos. 302 ^v -303 ^v
LEIGH, Thomas	Mercer	1570	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 346 ^r -347 ^r
LEMON, John	Fishmonger		
LEONARD, John	Mercer	1587	PRO, PROB 11/77, fos. 211 ^r -212 ^v
LEONARD, William	Mercer	1572	CLRO, HR 265 (85)
LESSE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 133
LEVERSON, Francis	Mercer		
LEVERSON, William	Draper		
LEVERSON, William	Mercer	1591	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 47 ^r -48 ^r
LEWEN, Thomas	Ironmonger	1554	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 222
LINFORD, William	Merchant Taylor	1598	PRO, PROB 11/94, fo. 123 ^{r-v}
LINSEY, John	Armourer		
LION, John	Grocer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 17r-19r
LISTER, Richard	Clothworker	1593	PRO, PROB 11/81, fos. 111 ^v -112 ^v
LIVERS, Robert	Fishmonger		
LLOYD, Richard	Vintner	1545	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 264 ^v
LOCKE, Thomas	Mercer	1556	PRO, PROB 11/38, fos. 180 ^r -181 ^r
LOCKE, William	Mercer	1550	PRO, PROB 11/33, fo. 163
LODGE, Thomas	Grocer	1583	PRO, PROB 11/68, fos. 230 ^r -231 ^v
LONG, John	Salter	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 154
LONG, John	Clothworker	1570	PRO, PROB 11/52, fos. 264 ^v -265 ^r
LONG, Morris	Clothworker		
LONG, Robert	Mercer	1551	PRO, PROB 11/35, fos. 43 ^v -44 ^v
LORRIMER, Thomas	Innholder		
LOWE, Bartholomew	Merchant Taylor		
LOWE, Nicholas	Merchant Taylor		
LOWE, Simon	Merchant Taylor	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 100 ^r -101 ^v
LOWE, Thomas	Vintner	1574	PRO, PROB 11/56, fo. 264 ^{r-v}
LOWE, Thomas	Haberdasher	1623	PRO, PROB 11/141, fos. 245 ^r -246 ^r
LOWEN, John	Draper	1557	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fo. 357
LOXON, Richard	Armourer		
LUCAR, Emmanuel	Merchant Taylor	1574	PRO, PROB 11/56, fos. 125 ^r -135 ^r
LUCAS, John	Skinner	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 321 ^v -322 ^r
LUCE, Humphrey	Leatherseller	1547	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 307 ^{r-v}
LUDDINGTON, Nicholas	Grocer	1589	PRO, PROB 11/86, fos. 15 ^r -16 ^r
LUNNE, Stephen	Haberdasher	1528	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 90 ^v -91 ^r
LUNNE, Thomas	Grocer		

LUSON, Nicholas	Mercer		
LUTE, John	Clothworker	1585	CLRO, HR 268 (22)
MABBE, John jr.	Goldsmith	1578	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 6 ^r -7 ^v
MABBE, John sr.	Goldsmith	1578	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 70 ^v -71 ^r
MACHELL, John	Clothworker	1558	PRO, PROB 11/41, fo. 201
MALBY, Arthur	Fishmonger		
MALBY, John			
MALBY, Thomas			
MALLORY, Richard	Mercer	1566	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 69 ^r -70 ^r
MALT, John	Merchant Taylor	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 303 ^v -305 ^r
MANNING, Randall	Skinner	1612	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 36 ^r -38 ^r
MARBURY, Thomas	Haberdasher	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 262 ^{r-v}
MARDEN, John	Merchant Taylor	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fo. 325 ^{r-v}
MARGETSON, John	Brewer	1550	GL, MS 9051/2, fo. 13 ^r
MARLER, Anthony	Haberdasher		
MARLER, Christopher	Merchant Taylor	1576	PRO, PROB 11/59, fo. 9 ^{r-v}
MARLER, Richard	Goldsmith		
MARLER, William	Haberdasher	1527	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 223 ^r
MARSHE, John	Mercer	1578	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 17 ^v -18 ^r
MARSHE, Robert	Grocer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/100, fos. 168 ^r -169 ^r
MARSHE, Walter	Mercer	1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 16 ^v -17 ^r
MARSTON, James	Vintner	1570	PRO, PROB 11/52, fo. 188 ^{r-v}
MARTIN, John	Barber-Surgeon		
MARTIN, Matthew	Brewer	1597	PRO, PROB 11/90, fos. 126 ^r -127 ^r
MARTIN, Richard sr.	Goldsmith		
MARTIN, Richard jr.	Goldsmith	1616	PRO, PROB 11/127, fos. 481 ^v -482 ^r
MARTIN, Richard	Leatherseller		
MARTIN, Roger	Mercer	1573	PRO, PROB 11/56, fos. 2 ^r -4 ^r
MASHAM, William I	Grocer	1600	PRO, PROB 11/96, fo. 259 ^{r-v}
MASHAM, William II			
MASON, George	Haberdasher		
MASON, Stephen	Vintner		
MAUNSELL, Richard	Scrivener	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 401 ^v -403 ^v
MAY, Henry	Draper		
MAY, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1587	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 93 ^r -93a ^v
MAY, Thomas	Vintner		
MAYNARD, John	Mercer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 380 ^v -381 ^r
MAYNARD, Thomas			
MAYNARD, William	Mercer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/48, fo. 24 ^v
MEDLEY, George	Mercer	1554	PRO, PROB 11/37, fo. 75 ^{r-v}
MEGGES, William	Draper	1598	PRO, PROB 11/93, fos. 73 ^r -79 ^v
MEGGES, William	Draper	1619	PRO, PROB 11/138, fos. 17 ^r -19 ^v
MELLISHE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1562	PRO, PROB 11/45, fos. 73 ^v -75 ^r
MEREDITH, Robert	Grocer	1546	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 205 ^v -207 ^r
MERESTON, Thomas			
MERIALI, Edward	Grocer	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 97 ^v -98 ^r
MERRICK, John	Merchant Taylor		
MERRICK, William	Draper	1580	PRO, PROB 11/63, fo. 229 ^{r-v}
MERRY, William	Grocer	1547	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 315 ^r -317 ^r
METCALF, Thomas	Goldsmith	1576	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 21 ^v -23 ^v
MICHAEL, James	Merchant Taylor	1542	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 129 ^v
MIDDLETON, Thomas	Skinner	1567	CLRO, HR 256 (160)
MIDDLETON, Thomas	Skinner		
MIDDLETON, Thomas	Skinner	1630	PRO, PROB 11/160, fos. 197 ^r -199 ^r
MILBORNE, John	Draper	1535	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 264
MILLS, Henry	Grocer	1574	PRO, PROB 11/56, fos. 114 ^v -116 ^v

MILLS, Leonard	Haberdasher		
MILLS, Thomas	Mercer		
MINNES, John		1561	PRO, PROB 11/44, fo. 145 ^r
MIRFYN, Thomas	Skinner	1523	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 97
MIRFYN, William	Vintner		
MONMOUTH, Humphrey	Draper	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 98 ^r -99 ^v
MONOUX, George	Draper	1541	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 34 ^r -36 ^r
MONTAGUE, Roger	Skinner	1617	PRO, PROB 11/133, fos. 310 ^r -305 ^v
MORE, Edmund	Draper		
MORE, John	Skinner	1603	PRO, PROB 11/101, fo. 203 ^v
MORE, Thomas	Mercer		
MORGAN, Francis	Vintner		
MORGAN, Hugh	Grocer	1608	PRO, PROB 11/122, fos. 149 ^r -150 ^r
MORRIS, Richard	Ironmonger	1592	PRO, PROB 11/80, fos. 276 ^r -277 ^v
MORTON, Edward	Grocer	1552	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 189 ^{r-v}
MORTON, Francis	Vintner		
MOSLEY, Nicholas	Clothworker		
MOWLDE, Robert	Cooper		
MUNDY, John	Goldsmith	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 72
MUNDY, Roger	Goldsmith	1562	PRO, PROB 11/45, fo. 218 ^r
MUSCHAMPE, Thomas	Goldsmith	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 181 ^r -185 ^v
MYNORS, Hugh	Brewer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 178 ^v -179 ^r
MYNORS, John	Draper	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 98 ^r -99 ^v
NASEBY, William			
NASHE, John	Draper	1568	PRO, PROB 11/50, fos. 45 ^v -46 ^v
NAYLOR, Henry	Clothworker		
NEALE, Anthony	Goldsmith		
NEWBURY, John	Stationer		
NEWBURY, Ralph	Stationer	1603	PRO, PROB 11/109, fos. 233 ^v -236 ^r
NEWCE, Clement	Mercer	1564	GLRO, DL/C/358, fos. 238 ^r -240 ^v
NEWMAN, Gabriel	Joiner	1604	PRO, PROB 11/105, fos. 96 ^v -97 ^r
NEWMAN, Gregory	Grocer	1592	GL, MS 9171/17, fo. 407 ^{r-v}
NEWMAN, John	Grocer	1613	PRO, PROB 11/123, fos. 396 ^r -397 ^v
NEWMAN, Robert	Vintner		
NEWTON, John	Mercer	1620	PRO, PROB 11/135, fos. 232 ^r -233 ^v
NICHOLAS, Ambrose	Salter	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 165 ^r -167 ^v
NICHOLLS, John	Merchant Taylor		
NICHOLLS, Thomas	Goldsmith		
NICHOLSON, John			
NICHOLSON, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1585	PRO, PROB 11/68, fo. 165 ^{r-v}
NICHOLSON, Thomas			
NICHOLSON, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1587	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 299 ^v -300 ^v
NICHOLSON, William	Vintner		
NORRINGTON, Vincent	Grocer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/91, fo. 33 ^{r-v}
NORTH, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1593	PRO, PROB 11/85, fo. 7 ^{r-v}
NORTON, Thomas	Grocer	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 227 ^v -228 ^r
NORTON, William	Stationer	1593	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 57 ^r -60 ^r
NOTT, Thomas	Grocer	1547	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 302 ^r
NOWELL, Thomas			
OFFLEY, Hugh	Leatherseller	1594	PRO, PROB 11/84, fos. 294 ^v -300 ^v
OFFLEY, Robert	Haberdasher	1596	PRO, PROB 11/87, fos. 228 ^r -237 ^r
OFFLEY, Thomas	Merchant Taylor		
OFFLEY, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1580	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 298 ^r -299 ^v
OFFLEY, William	Merchant Taylor		
OLDHAM, John	Clothworker		
OLIFF, John	Merchant Taylor	1574	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 222 ^v -224 ^r

ONSLowe, William	Scrivener	1609	PRO, PROB 11/121, fos. 43 ^r -45 ^r
ORMSHAW, William	Grocer	1590	PRO, PROB 11/77, fos. 135 ^v -136 ^v
OSBORNE, Edward	Clothworker		
OSBORNE, Edward	Goldsmith		
OSBORNE, Richard	Grocer	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 71
OSBORNE, Thomas	Grocer		
OWFIELD, Roger	Fishmonger	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 403 ^r -405 ^r
PACKINGTON, Humphrey	Mercer	1555	PRO, PROB 11/38, fos. 150 ^r -151 ^v
PACKINGTON, Robert	Mercer	1535	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 32 ^v
PAGE, William	Ironmonger	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 511 ^r -512 ^r
PAGETT, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1541	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 17
PAINE, Christopher	Brewer	1551	PRO, PROB 11/34, fo. 171 ^{r-v}
PAINE, John	Skinner	1560	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 348 ^v -349 ^v
PAINE, Robert	Grocer	1601	PRO, PROB 11/101, fo. 289 ^{r-v}
PALMER, Andrew	Goldsmith	1599	PRO, PROB 11/94, fo. 156 ^v
PALMER, Edward	Haberdasher	1598	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 136 ^r -137 ^v
PALMER, Lawrence	Clothworker		
PALMER, Robert	Mercer	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 96 ^v -97 ^v
PALMER, Simon	Goldsmith	1552	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 217 ^{r-v}
PALTERTON, John	Goldsmith	1517	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 89 ^r
PANNELL, Richard			
PARGETER, Thomas	Salter	1530	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 140
PARIS, Robert			
PARKE, John à	Mercer	1525	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 302 ^v -312 ^r
PARKER, William	Draper	1576	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 94 ^v -96 ^v
PARKINSON, Nicholas	Clothworker		
PARR, John	Broiderer	1606	PRO, PROB 11/110, fos. 142 ^v -144 ^v
PARTRIDGE, Affabell	Goldsmith		
PARTRIDGE, John	Grocer	1525	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 268
PARTRIDGE, William			
PAWLEY, Thomas	Fishmonger	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 131 ^r -132 ^r
PEACOCK, Richard	Leatherseller		
PEACOCK, Robert	Haberdasher		
PEACOCK, Robert	Salter	1574	PRO, PROB 11/57, fos. 256 ^v -257 ^v
PEACOCK, Stephen	Haberdasher	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 263
PELSAUNT, John	Grocer	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fo. 509 ^r
PEMBERTON, James	Goldsmith	1613	PRO, PROB 11/122, fos. 141 ^v -142 ^r
PERCY, Thomas	Skinner		
PERPOINT, Alexander	Draper		
PERPOINT, Thomas	Draper	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 86 ^r
PERT, George	Dyer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 39 ^r -40 ^r
PETER, Richard	Brewer	1592	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 58 ^v -59 ^r
PETERSON, William	Haberdasher	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 271 ^v -272 ^r
PETIT, John	Grocer	1532	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 167 ^v -168 ^r
PETIT, William	Grocer		
PEYDELL, Henry	Vintner		
PHILIPS, William	Clothworker		
PHILIPS, William	Merchant Taylor		
PIERCE, John	Fishmonger	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 120 ^v -121 ^r
PIERSON, John	Barber-Surgeon	1530	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 136 ^v -137 ^v
PIERSON, John	Skinner		
PIERSON, Nicholas	Skinner	1598	PRO, PROB 11/93, fo. 171 ^{r-v}
PIERSON, Thomas	Scrivener	1568	PRO, PROB 11/51, fo. 172 ^{r-v}
PIERSON, William	Scrivener	1565	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 475 ^r -477 ^r
PIGOTT, Edmund	Grocer		
PIGOTT, Thomas	Grocer		

PINCHESTER, Roger	Grocer	1548	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 130 ^{r-v}
PINDER, John	Vintner	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 106 ^v -107 ^v
PIPE, Richard	Leatherseller	1587	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 203 ^v -204 ^r
PIPER, John	Baker	1603	PRO, PROB 11/101, fos. 185 ^v -186 ^r
PIRRY, John	Fishmonger	1542	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 137 ^v -138 ^r
PLATSDEN, William	Ironmonger	1591	PRO, PROB 11/77, fo. 160 ^v
PLATT, Richard	Brewer	1600	PRO, PROB 11/96, fos. 328 ^v -330 ^v
PLEASAUNCE, John	Brewer	1527	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 120 ^v
PLIMLEY, Alexander	Mercer	1532	PRO, PROB 11/25, fos. 42 ^r -43 ^v
PLUMMER, Walter	Merchant Taylor	1607	PRO, PROB 11/111, fos. 312 ^r -313 ^v
POINTELL, Richard	Fishmonger	1621	PRO, PROB 11/139, fos. 81 ^r -83 ^v
POINTER, Richard	Draper	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 68 ^v -69 ^v
POINTER, Richard	Mercer	1598	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 318 ^v -319 ^r
POLLARD, John	Broiderer	1624	PRO, PROB 11/144, fos. 34 ^r -35 ^v
POLLE, Thomas	Cordwainer	1569	PRO, PROB 11/51, fos. 147 ^r -148 ^r
PONTE, John	Merchant Taylor	1584	PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 282 ^r -283 ^v
POPE, Francis	Merchant Taylor		
POPE, Hugh	Haberdasher	1562	PRO, PROB 11/46, fos. 11 ^v -12 ^v
POPE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1591	PRO, PROB 11/78, fos. 147 ^v -148 ^v
POREY, Richard	Brewer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 281 ^v -282 ^r
PORTER, John	Fishmonger	1607	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 323 ^v -325 ^r
POWELL, David	Haberdasher		
POWELL, John	Mercer	1553	GL, MS 9171/13, fo. 14 ^{r-v}
POWELL, Robert	Haberdasher	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 137 ^v -138 ^v
POYNTZ, Ferdinand	Grocer		
PRANNELL, Henry	Vintner	1589	PRO, PROB 11/74, fos. 242 ^r -244 ^v
PRATT, Ralph	Leatherseller	1607	PRO, PROB 11/119, fos. 316 ^v -319 ^v
PRIDDE, William		1550	PRO, PROB 11/34, fos. 161 ^v -162 ^v
PRIEST, John	Grocer		
PRIEST, Thomas	Grocer		
PRIOR, Anthony	Draper	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 342 ^r -343 ^r
PROCTOR, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1609	PRO, PROB 11/116, fos. 144 ^r -145 ^r
PROWE, William	Dyer	1528	PRO, PROB 11/23, fo. 73 ^{r-v}
PULLYSON, Thomas	Draper		
PURSER, John	Vintner	1533	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 49 ^r
PYKAS, Thomas	Skinner	1537	PRO, PROB 11/28, fos. 181 ^v -182 ^r
PYKE, John	Goldsmith	1533	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 19 ^r
QUARLES, John	Draper	1577	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 18 ^r -21 ^r
QUARLES, William	Mercer	1592	PRO, PROB 11/133, fos. 114 ^r -115 ^v
RAINES, Robert	Goldsmith		
RAINSCROFT, Arthur	Innholder	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 208 ^r -209 ^r
RAMSEY, Thomas	Grocer	1585	PRO, PROB 11/75, fos. 306 ^v -308a ^r
RANDALL, Vincent	Mercer	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 191 ^v -192 ^r
RATCLIFFE, Anthony	Merchant Taylor		
RAWLINS, Robert	Merchant Taylor		
RAWLINS, William	Grocer	1553	PRO, PROB 11/36, fos. 166 ^v -167 ^r
READ, John	Baker	1619	PRO, PROB 11/133, fos. 252 ^v -254 ^v
READ, Richard	Salter	1550	PRO, PROB 11/33, fo. 213
REDMAN, John	Bowyer	1572	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 65 ^v -66 ^v
REST, John	Grocer	1523	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 17
REYNARD, Custell			
REYNOLD, Thomas	Fishmonger	1539	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 213 ^r
REYNOLDS, Richard	Mercer	1541	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 159 ^r -160 ^r
REYNOLDS, Richard	Draper	1579	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 78 ^v -79 ^r
REYNOLDS, Robert	Fishmonger	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fos. 107 ^r -108 ^r
REYNOLDS, William	Bowyer	1567	PRO, PROB 11/51, fos. 129 ^v -130 ^r

REYNOLDS, William	Draper		
RICE, Simon	Mercer	1530	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 125 ^v -126 ^v
RICH, William	Haberdasher		
RICHARDS, Henry	Draper	1583	PRO, PROB 11/65, fos. 313 ^v -314 ^r
RICHARDS, John	Draper	1537	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 82 ^v -84 ^r
RICHARDS, Morgan	Skinner	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 311 ^v -312 ^r
RICHARDS, Thomas			
RICHARDSON, Thomas	Draper	1533	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 124 ^{r-v}
RICHMOND, John	Armourer	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 303 ^v -304 ^r
RIDER, William	Haberdasher	1610	PRO, PROB 11/118, fos. 281 ^r -282 ^v
RIDGLEY, William	Haberdasher		
RIGGS, Robert	Haberdasher		
RIGGS, Thomas	Haberdasher		
RILEY, John	Haberdasher	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fos. 233 ^v -234 ^v
RIVERS, John	Grocer	1584	PRO, PROB 11/66, fos. 291 ^r -294 ^r
ROBINS, William	Mercer	1549	PRO, PROB 11/36, fo. 18
ROBINSON, Francis	Grocer		
ROBINSON, John	Merchant Taylor	1599	PRO, PROB 11/98, fos. 342 ^r -346 ^v
ROBINSON, Robert	Shereman		
ROCHE, William	Draper	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 323
ROGERS, John	Mercer		
ROGERS, John	Grocer	1588	PRO, PROB 11/74, fos. 346 ^v -348 ^r
ROGERS, Richard	Goldsmith		
ROMNEY, William	Haberdasher	1611	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 335 ^r -338 ^r
ROSE, John	Grocer		
ROSE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1576	PRO, PROB 11/59, fo. 11 ^v
ROWE, Henry	Mercer	1612	PRO, PROB 11/120, fos. 286 ^v -290 ^v
ROWE, John	Merchant Taylor	1580	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 264 ^v -265 ^r
ROWE, Oliver	Merchant Taylor	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 103 ^v -104 ^r
ROWE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1538	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 162 ^{r-v}
ROWE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1569	PRO, PROB 11/52, fos. 200 ^r -202 ^r
ROWE, William	Ironmonger	1598	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 276 ^v -277 ^r
ROWLETT, Ralph	Goldsmith	1543	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 130 ^r -131 ^r
ROYSE, John	Mercer		
ROYSTON, John	Pewterer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/46, fos. 328 ^r -329 ^r
RUDESTONE, John	Draper	1531	PRO, PROB 11/24, fo. 53
RUSSELL, Thomas	Draper	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 68 ^r -72 ^v
RUSSELL, Thomas	Clothworker		
RYECROFT, John		1532	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 136 ^v -137 ^r
SADLER, John	Draper	1559	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 380 ^r -381 ^v
SALTER, George			
SALTONSTALL, Richard	Skinner	1597	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 255 ^v -257 ^r
SANDELL, John	Vintner	1532	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 124 ^v -125 ^r
SARES, Andrew	Salter		
SARES, Thomas	Haberdasher	1587	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 445 ^r -447 ^v
SAUNDERS, Blaise	Grocer	1577	PRO, PROB 11/63, fo. 271 ^{r-v}
SAXEY, John	Merchant Taylor	1529	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 115 ^v -116 ^v
SAYER, John	Innholder		
SCALES, Richard	Salter	1603	PRO, PROB 11/101, fos. 395 ^v -396 ^v
SCOTT, John	Draper		
SCOTT, John	Salter		
SCOTT, John	Salter	1578	PRO, PROB 11/61, fos. 265 ^v -266 ^r
SCUDAMORE, Stephen	Vintner	1585	PRO, PROB 11/68, fos. 446 ^v -448 ^v
SCUDAMORE, William	Ironmonger	1601	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 199 ^v -200 ^v
SERGEANT, John	Dyer	1550	GLRO, DL/C/356, fos. 57 ^v -58 ^r
SEWELL, Adrian	Fishmonger		

SEWELL, John	Salter	1606	PRO, PROB 11/108, fo. 42 ^v
SEWELL, Thomas	Salter	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 34 ^v -35 ^v
SEYMOUR, Thomas	Mercer	1533	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 232
SEYMOUR, Thomas	Skinner		
SHARP, Richard	Waxchandler	1608	PRO, PROB 11/111, fo. 148 ^{r-v}
SHAW, Edmund	Haberdasher	1539	PRO, PROB 11/27, fos. 270a ^v -272 ^r
SHEPHAM, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1604	PRO, PROB 11/104, fos. 270 ^r -272 ^r
SHEPHAM, Thomas	Mercer		
SHERIFF, Lawrence	Grocer	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 201 ^r -202 ^r
SHERLOCK, Robert	Woodmonger	1570	PRO, PROB 11/53, fo. 88 ^v
SHERRINGTON, William	Haberdasher	1593	PRO, PROB 11/91, fo. 236 ^{r-v}
SHETHER, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1528	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 295 ^v -296 ^v
SHUTE, William	Broiderer		
SIBTHORNE, John	Mercer		
SILLARD, William	Merchant Taylor		
SILVER, Anthony	Leatherseller		
SIMMONDS, George	Vintner	1544	GLRO, DL/C/Bundle 2, 49
SIMMONDS, Peter	Mercer	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 82 ^r -88 ^r
SIMMONDS, Ralph	Fishmonger	1541	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 18
SIMMONDS, Thomas	Fishmonger		
SIMPSON, William	Merchant Taylor	1590	PRO, PROB 11/76, fos. 100 ^v -101 ^v
SKEVINGTON, John	Merchant Taylor	1524	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 316
SKINNER, Oliver	Salter	1610	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 342 ^r -343 ^r
SKINNER, Thomas	Clothworker	1596	PRO, PROB 11/89, fos. 394 ^r -395 ^r
SLANEY, Stephen	Skinner	1598	PRO, PROB 11/113, fos. 33 ^r -35 ^v
SLEYFORD, Richard	Clothworker	1593	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 36 ^r -38 ^r
SMALL, Nicholas	Clothworker	1565	PRO, PROB 11/48, fo. 263 ^v
SMALLWOOD, William	Grocer	1567	PRO, PROB 11/50, fo. 123 ^{r-v}
SMITH, Ambrose	Mercer	1584	PRO, PROB 11/67, fo. 108 ^{r-v}
SMITH, David	Broiderer	1587	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 126 ^v -130 ^r
SMITH, George	Haberdasher		
SMITH, Gregory	Merchant Taylor	1593	PRO, PROB 11/90, fos. 253 ^r -254 ^v
SMITH, Humphrey	Grocer	1589	PRO, PROB 11/74, fo. 156 ^r
SMITH, James	Mercer		
SMITH, John	Mercer	1594	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 8 ^r -9 ^r
SMITH, Leonard	Girdler		
SMITH, Richard	Fishmonger	1591	PRO, PROB 11/78, fos. 27 ^v -28 ^r
SMITH, Robert	Fishmonger		
SMITH, Robert	Grocer	1566	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 262 ^r -263 ^r
SMITH, Thomas	Skinner		
SMITH, Thomas	Innholder		
SMITH, Thomas	Haberdasher	1622	PRO, PROB 11/147, fos. 37 ^v -42 ^r
SMITH, William	Grocer	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 213 ^v -214 ^v
SNODE, Giles	Draper		
SNODENHAM, Thomas		1540	PRO, PROB 11/28, fo. 267 ^v
SNOWDEN, William			
SOAME, Stephen	Grocer	1619	PRO, PROB 11/135, fos. 3 ^r -8 ^v
SOTHERTON, George	Merchant Taylor	1612	PRO, PROB 11/119, fo. 338 ^v
SOTHERTON, Nowell	Merchant Taylor	1608	PRO, PROB 11/115, fos. 277 ^v -279 ^r
SOUTHACK, George	Grocer	1604	PRO, PROB 11/109, fos. 255 ^v -258 ^r
SOUTHALL, John			
SOUTHALL, John	Clothworker	1590	PRO, PROB 11/79, fos. 283 ^r -284 ^v
SOUTHWOOD, William	Goldsmith	1559	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 282 ^r -283 ^r
SOWLE, Robert	Salter	1593	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 160 ^r -164 ^r
SPAKEMAN, Nicholas	Haberdasher	1558	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 315 ^r -316 ^v
SPARKE, John	Merchant Taylor	1574	PRO, PROB 11/63, fos. 42 ^{r-v}

SPEIGHT, Thomas	Merchant Taylor		
SPENCER, James	Vintner	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 76
SPENCER, John	Vintner		
SPENCER, John	Clothworker		
SPENCER, Nicholas	Merchant Taylor	1597	PRO, PROB 11/91, fos. 319 ^v -321 ^v
SPENCER, Thomas	Vintner	1538	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 201 ^r - ^v
SPENCER, Thomas	Merchant Taylor		
SPELTE, Thomas	Draper		
SPRINGHAM, Matthew	Merchant Taylor	1620	PRO, PROB 11/136, fos. 241 ^v -242 ^v
SPRINGHAM, Richard	Mercer		
SQUIRE, William	Scrivener	1590	PRO, PROB 11/75, fos. 351 ^r -353 ^r
STACEY, Thomas	Mercer	1559	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 133 ^v -134 ^r
STAINES, Nicholas	Mercer		
STANFIELD, Richard	Skinner	1551	PRO, PROB 11/34, fos. 278 ^v -281 ^r
STANLAKE, Anthony	Mercer	1604	PRO, PROB 11/105, fos. 105 ^r -106 ^r
STAPER, Richard	Clothworker	1601	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 120 ^r -121 ^v
STARKEY, Peter	Draper	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 284 ^r -285 ^r
STARKEY, Roger	Grocer	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 319 ^v -320 ^v
STARKEY, Thomas	Skinner	1592	PRO, PROB 11/83, fos. 17 ^r -18 ^r
STARRE, Thomas			
STATHAM, Nicholas	Mercer	1538	PRO, PROB 11/27, fo. 174 ^r
STAVELEY, James	Vintner	1551	PRO, PROB 11/34, fos. 255 ^v -257 ^r
STEVENSON, John	Girdler		
STEWART, Edward	Saddler	1549	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 330 ^r - ^v
STIRLEY, James	Vintner		
STIRLEY, John	Vintner	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 468 ^r -470 ^r
STOCKBRIDGE, Richard	Mercer	1584	GL, MS 9172/12a, fo. 22 ^r
STOCKMEAD, George	Skinner		
STOKES, John	Brewer		
STOKES, John	Fishmonger	1595	PRO, PROB 11/85, fos. 284 ^r -285 ^v
STONE, John	Haberdasher	1609	PRO, PROB 11/113, fos. 356 ^r -359 ^r
STONE, William	Haberdasher		
STORER, John	Baker	1605	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 129 ^r -130 ^v
STORY, Richard	Fishmonger	1577	GL, MS 9171/16, fos. 335 ^r -336 ^r
STREET, Humphrey	Merchant Taylor	1626	PRO, PROB 11/155, fos. 30 ^r -32 ^r
STREET, William	Haberdasher		
STUBBS, John	Fishmonger		
STUDLEY, Henry	Girdler	1586	PRO, PROB 11/71, fos. 56 ^v -57 ^v
STURGEON, Henry	Ironmonger		
STURGEON, John	Haberdasher	1562	CLRO, HR 251 (129)
STYLE, Edmund	Grocer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 52 ^v -54 ^r
STYLE, Nicholas	Grocer		
STYLE, Oliver	Grocer	1620	PRO, PROB 11/139, fos. 486 ^r -488 ^r
SUKELEY, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1564	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 184 ^v -186 ^r
SUTTON, Henry	Goldsmith	1592	PRO, PROB 11/81, fos. 33 ^r -34 ^v
SWADELL, Christopher	Barber-Surgeon		
SWADELL, Stephen	Fishmonger		
SWINKFIELD, John	Fishmonger	1558	PRO, PROB 11/41, fos. 149 ^r -150 ^r
SWINNERTON, John	Merchant Taylor	1608	PRO, PROB 11/113, fo. 64 ^v
SWINNERTON, John	Merchant Taylor	1616	PRO, PROB 11/128, fos. 471 ^r -474 ^v
TADLOW, George	Haberdasher	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 168 ^r - ^v
TAILFORD, Henry	Clothworker		
TATTEN, John	Draper		
TAVERNER, John	Stationer	1529	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 81 ^v -82 ^r
TAYLOR, Edward	Haberdasher		
TAYLOR, John	Clothworker	1547	GL, MS 9051/2, fo. 48 ^v

WALTERS, Richard	Girdler	1588	PRO, PROB 11/72, fos. 156 ^r -158 ^r
WALTHALL, William	Mercer	1607	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 199 ^v -208 ^r
WANTON, Thomas	Grocer	1569	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 253 ^v -254 ^r
WARD, John	Leatherseller	1595	PRO, PROB 11/86, fo. 169 ^r
WARD, William	Fishmonger		
WARE, Richard	Skinner	1607	PRO, PROB 11/110, fos. 253 ^v -255 ^v
WARE, Thomas	Fishmonger	1591	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 50 ^r -52 ^r
WARETON, Thomas	Grocer		
WARFIELD, Roger	Grocer		
WARING, Nicholas	Salter	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 268 ^{r-v}
WARLEY, John	Mercer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 196 ^v -197 ^r
WARNER, Edmund	Draper	1589	PRO, PROB 11/74, fos. 355 ^v -356 ^r
WARNER, Nicholas	Skinner	1596	PRO, PROB 11/91, fo. 34 ^{r-v}
WARNER, Robert	Draper	1555	PRO, PROB 11/37, fos. 219 ^r -220 ^r
WARNER, Lawrence	Skinner	1605	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 287 ^v -288 ^r
WARREN, Ralph	Mercer	1552	PRO, PROB 11/36, fo. 113
WARREN, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 80 ^r -81 ^r
WASE, Christopher	Goldsmith	1602	PRO, PROB 11/106, fos. 108 ^r -110 ^v
WASE, John		1553	PRO, PROB 11/36, fo. 174 ^r
WASE, John	Brewer	1561	PRO, PROB 11/44, fo. 225 ^{r-v}
WASE, John	Clothworker		
WATERS, John	Vintner		
WATSON, William	Draper	1559	PRO, PROB 11/43, fos. 26 ^r -27 ^r
WATSON, William	Draper	1615	PRO, PROB 11/127, fo. 477 ^r
WATTS, John	Clothworker	1613	PRO, PROB 11/128, fos. 501 ^v -503 ^v
WATTS, Thomas	Draper	1539	PRO, PROB 11/29, fos. 216 ^v -217 ^v
WAYE, Thomas	Vintner	1596	PRO, PROB 11/87, fos. 382 ^r -383 ^v
WEAVER, John	Mercer		
WEBBE, Henry	Merchant Taylor	1610	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 52 ^v -53 ^r
WEBBE, Thomas	Haberdasher	1601	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 301 ^v -303 ^v
WEBBE, William	Salter	1599	PRO, PROB 11/94, fos. 117 ^r -118 ^r
WELD, Humphrey	Grocer	1610	PRO, PROB 11/16, fos. 350 ^v -353 ^r
WELLS, Humphrey	Fishmonger		
WELLS, John	Scrivener	1596	PRO, PROB 11/88, fos. 290 ^r -291 ^r
WELSH, Hugh	Goldsmith		
WENTE, Thomas	Scrivener	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fo. 139 ^{r-v}
WESTWAYE, John	Draper	1604	PRO, PROB 11/105, fos. 24 ^r -26 ^r
WETHERALL, John	Goldsmith	1578	PRO, PROB 11/60, fos. 209 ^v -210 ^v
WHALLEY, Ambrose	Grocer	1557	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fos. 387 ^v -389 ^r
WHEELER, Richard	Grocer		
WHEELER, Nicholas	Draper	1585	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 121 ^r -122 ^r
WHEELER, Thomas	Currier	1590	PRO, PROB 11/75, fos. 196 ^v -197 ^v
WHETSTONE, Robert	Haberdasher	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 309 ^{r-v}
WHITCHURCH, Edward	Haberdasher	1562	PRO, PROB 11/45, fo. 227 ^{r-v}
WHITE, John	Grocer	1573	PRO, PROB 11/55, fos. 306 ^v -307 ^v
WHITE, John	Draper		
WHITE, Robert	Draper	1529	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 64 ^r
WHITE, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1566	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 263 ^v -267 ^v
WHITE, William	Leatherseller	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 290 ^{r-v}
WHITEHILL, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1565	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 351 ^v -352 ^v
WHITEHILL, William	Merchant Taylor		
WHITMORE, William	Haberdasher	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 104 ^v -106 ^r
WHITEPAYNE, John	Merchant Taylor	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 447 ^v -448 ^v
WHITESTREET, Robert	Haberdasher		
WHITETHORN, John	Clothworker	1568	PRO, PROB 11/51, fos. 135 ^v -136 ^v
WICHE, Richard	Skinner	1620	PRO, PROB 11/139, fos. 127 ^v -128 ^r

TAYLOR, John	Haberdasher	1600	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 8 ^r -11 ^v
TAYLOR, Robert	Haberdasher		
TAYLOR, Roger	Goldsmith	1556	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 13 ^v -14 ^v
TAYLOR, Thomas	Goldsmith	1592	PRO, PROB 11/79, fo. 323 ^{r-v}
TENCH, William	Draper		
TERRELL, Thomas	Grocer	1600	PRO, PROB 11/95, fos. 163 ^v -164 ^v
THEME, Nicholas	Haberdasher		
THOMAS, John	Grocer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 191 ^r -193 ^r
THOMAS, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1572	PRO, PROB 11/54, fos. 212 ^v -213 ^v
THOMAS, Robert	Draper	1610	PRO, PROB 11/116, fos. 255 ^r -256 ^r
THOMLINSON, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1567	PRO, PROB 11/49, fos. 162 ^v -164 ^v
THOMLINSON, Thomas	Skinner	1603	PRO, PROB 11/102, fos. 250 ^v -253 ^r
THOMPSON, Cuthbert	Brewer	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fos. 185 ^r -187 ^r
THOMPSON, John	Waxchandler	1527	PRO, PROB 11/22, fos. 241 ^v -243 ^r
THOMPSON, Ralph	Fishmonger	1535	PRO, PROB 11/25, fos. 216 ^v -217 ^r
THORNHILL, Richard	Grocer		
THORNTON, George	Ironmonger		
THOROWGOOD, William	Draper	1602	PRO, PROB 11/101, fos. 57 ^v -65 ^r
THROWER, Thomas			
THURSTON, John	Broiderer	1520	PRO, PROB 11/20, fo. 181
THWAITE, William	Fishmonger	1595	PRO, PROB 11/92, fos. 139 ^r -141 ^r
THWAITES, Stephen	Vintner		
TOLOS, John	Clothworker	1548	PRO, PROB 11/32, fo. 147
TOTEHILL, Anthony	Grocer	1563	PRO, PROB 11/46, fos. 281 ^v -282 ^r
TOWERSON, William	Skinner	1584	PRO, PROB 11/67, fos. 100 ^r -101 ^v
TRAPPE, Robert	Goldsmith		
TRAPPE, Thomas	Goldsmith	1544	PRO, PROB 11/30, fo. 41 ^{r-v}
TRAVERS, John	Merchant Taylor	1570	PRO, PROB 11/52, fos. 60 ^r -61 ^r
TRENDALL, Edmund	Draper	1525	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 190 ^{r-v}
TRESWELL, Ralph	Painter-Stainer		
TROTT, John	Draper	1600	PRO, PROB 11/97, fos. 188 ^v -190 ^r
TROTT, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1577	PRO, PROB 11/59, fo. 150 ^{r-v}
TUCKER, William	Grocer	1568	PRO, PROB 11/50, fo. 129 ^r
TULL, Richard	Draper	1559	PRO, PROB 11/42b, fos. 475 ^r -476 ^v
TURFOOT, Edward	Bowstringmaker	1589	PRO, PROB 11/76, fos. 69 ^r -72 ^r
TURKE, Richard	Fishmonger	1552	PRO, PROB 11/35, fo. 214
TURKE, William	Fishmonger	1558	GL, MS 9051/2, fos. 222 ^v -223 ^v
TURNBULL, Thomas	Fishmonger	1569	PRO, PROB 11/52, fo. 58 ^{r-v}
TWISLETON, John	Goldsmith	1525	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 137
TWYFORD, John	Vintner	1549	PRO, PROB 11/33, fos. 39 ^v -40 ^r
UMPTON, John	Draper		
VAUGHAN, Geoffrey	Draper	1536	PRO, PROB 11/25, fos. 247 ^v -248 ^r
VAUGHAN, Walter	Vintner	1534	PRO, PROB 11/25, fo. 182 ^v
VENABLES, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1598	PRO, PROB 11/92, fos. 87 ^v -90 ^r
VICARY, Thomas	Barber-Surgeon	1561	PRO, PROB 11/45, fos. 66 ^r -67 ^r
VINER, Henry	Mercer	1571	PRO, PROB 11/54, fo. 316 ^v
VUTHACK, Lawrence	Leatherseller		
WADDINGTON, Richard	Merchant Taylor	1562	PRO, PROB 11/48, fos. 218 ^v -220 ^v
WADE, Guy	Merchant Taylor	1557	PRO, PROB 11/39, fo. 303 ^{r-v}
WADE, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1529	PRO, PROB 11/23, fos. 63 ^r -64 ^r
WADE, Thomas	Ironmonger	1600	PRO, PROB 11/98, fos. 89 ^v -92 ^v
WALDOC, Robert	Grocer		
WALKEDEN, Geoffrey	Skinner	1603	PRO, PROB 11/102, fo. 149 ^v
WALKER, Thomas	Vintner	1599	PRO, PROB 11/95, fos. 87 ^r -88 ^r
WALL, Thomas	Salter	1531	PRO, PROB 11/24, fos. 41 ^r -43 ^v
WALTERS, Henry	Merchant Taylor		

WICKS, John	Goldsmith	1557	GL, MS 9171/13, fos. 120 ^v -121 ^r
WIDGINGTON, William	Painter-Stainer	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 109 ^v -110 ^r
WIDNELL, William	Merchant Taylor	1601	PRO, PROB 11/99, fos. 67 ^r -69 ^r
WIGGE, Robert	Goldsmith	1563	PRO, PROB 11/52, fo. 145 ^{r-v}
WIGGES, Thomas	Draper		
WILCOCKES, Roger	Clothworker	1585	PRO, PROB 11/68, fos. 455 ^r -457 ^r
WILFORD, James	Taylor	1526	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 102
WILFORD, John	Merchant Taylor	1551	PRO, PROB 11/34, fo. 68
WILFORD, Nicholas	Merchant Taylor	1551	PRO, PROB 11/34, fos. 171 ^v -172 ^v
WILFORD, Robert	Merchant Taylor	1545	PRO, PROB 11/30, fos. 301 ^r -302 ^r
WILFORD, Thomas	Merchant Taylor	1608	PRO, PROB 11/112, fos. 41 ^v -42 ^v
WILFORD, William	Merchant Taylor	1550	PRO, PROB 11/34, fo. 244 ^{r-v}
WILKES, Thomas	Haberdasher	1558	PRO, PROB 11/42a, fo. 314
WILKES, William	Merchant Taylor	1597	PRO, PROB 11/89, fo. 265 ^v
WILKINSON, John	Draper	1521	PRO, PROB 11/20, fo. 109
WILKINSON, John	Merchant Taylor	1571	PRO, PROB 11/54, fo. 10 ^{r-v}
WILKINSON, William	Mercer	1543	PRO, PROB 11/29, fo. 214 ^{r-v}
WILLETT, Ralph	Vintner		
WILSON, William	Dyer	1582	PRO, PROB 11/64, fos. 146 ^v -149 ^r
WINCHE, Robert	Grocer	1590	PRO, PROB 11/76, fos. 167 ^v -169 ^r
WINKOTE, Henry		1544	GL, MS 9171/11, fo. 130 ^r
WINTER, Rowland	Cordwainer		
WISDOM, John	Painter-Stainer	1559	GL, MS 9171/15, fo. 99 ^r
WISEMAN, John	Skinner	1558	PRO, PROB 11/40, fos. 297 ^r -299 ^r
WISEMAN, Richard	Goldsmith	1618	PRO, PROB 11/132, fos. 427 ^r -429 ^r
WITHENS, Robert	Vintner	1593	PRO, PROB 11/82, fos. 173 ^v -175 ^r
WITHERS, John	Salter	1592	PRO, PROB 11/80, fos. 121 ^r -122 ^r
WITHERS, Lawrence	Salter		
WITHY, Roger	Haberdasher		
WITHYPOLL, Paul	Merchant Taylor	1542	PRO, PROB 11/31, fo. 298
WITTON, Thomas	Scrivener		
WOARE, Richard	Dyer	1611	PRO, PROB 11/117, fos. 305 ^r -309 ^r
WOOD, Thomas	Cooper	1547	PRO, PROB 11/31, fos. 384 ^v -385 ^r
WOOD, Thomas	Pewterer	1597	PRO, PROB 11/90, fos. 391 ^v -392 ^v
WOODCOCK, Andrew	Grocer	1548	PRO, PROB 11/39, fos. 280 ^r -281 ^r
WOODCOCK, Ralph	Grocer	1586	PRO, PROB 11/69, fos. 365 ^v -367 ^v
WOODFORD, Gamaliel	Grocer		
WOODROFFE, David	Haberdasher	1560	PRO, PROB 11/46, fo. 164 ^{r-v}
WOODROFFE, Nicholas	Haberdasher	1596	PRO, PROB 11/92, fos. 103 ^r -105 ^r
WOODWARD, John	Ironmonger	1601	PRO, PROB 11/98, fos. 283 ^v -285 ^r
WOOLMAN, Robert	Mercer	1571	PRO, PROB 11/53, fos. 57 ^r -58 ^r
WORLEY, Henry	Goldsmith	1524	PRO, PROB 11/21, fo. 236
WRIGHT, Arthur	Clothworker		
WRIGHT, Richard	Ironmonger		
WYATT, William	Grocer	1564	PRO, PROB 11/47, fos. 159 ^r -160 ^r
WYNKE, Robert	Vintner	1542	GL, MS 9171/11, fo. 80 ^r
YARFORD, James	Mercer	1527	PRO, PROB 11/22, fo. 159
YORK, John	Merchant Taylor		
YOUNG, Gregory	Grocer	1605	PRO, PROB 11/116, fos. 112 ^r -113 ^v
YOUNG, Richard	Grocer		
YOUNG, Robert	Fishmonger	1574	PRO, PROB 11/58, fos. 283 ^v -285 ^v
YOUNG, Roger	Haberdasher		
YOUNG, William	Grocer		